# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-072
Monday
17 April 1989

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*FBIS-EEU-89-072* *17 April 1989*

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## NPA, GSFG Troops Begin Military Exercise

*LD1504104289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The previously announced troop exercise of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] and the GDR National People's Army [NPA] began today in the area of Treuenbritzen, Jessen, Cottbus, Eisenhuettenstadt, and Teupitz. Starting this morning, troops have been guarding the exit zones. Up to 18,500 members of the fraternal armies are taking part in the exercise. The exercise is commanded by Lieutenant General Anatoliy Chernyshev, commander of an army of the GSFG. The aim of the exercise is to perfect the level of training of the troops and to provide instruction on elements of leadership and cooperation in defense.

In accordance with the Stockholm conference documents, observers of all the participant states have been invited. According to current information, 38 generals, officers, and diplomats from these countries are expected in the exercise area on Monday [17 April].

## Berlin Pact Foreign Ministers Meeting Continues

### Fischer Toasts Olechowski

*AU1304145189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Apr 89 p 3*

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at a dinner given in honor of Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski in Berlin on 11 April: "Peace Program of the Alliance Is Being Successfully Implemented"]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends,

Thank you all very much for accepting my invitation. This Berlin meeting of the committee of foreign ministers was preceded by important events. The Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting was concluded, and fresh negotiations on conventional disarmament as well as on confidence- and security-building measures have begun.

Two things became obvious in the balance sheet that we have drawn up by agreement:

1. The peace program of our alliance is being successfully implemented; it is realistic and open toward everything, it is directed toward disarmament and greater security, and it gives no one an advantage.

2. Our persistent efforts and, above all, the bold and truly trailblazing initiatives of the Soviet Union have led to the first encouraging results. We now have to and want to work with many initiatives, so as to soon be able to take the next important step on the path of disarmament.

However, everyone knows that this difficult path toward disarmament cannot be trodden by anyone alone—the other party must also travel with him. Therefore, it is the wish of us all that the NATO member states decide to become reliable companions along the way, and it is not only our wish that they do not drag their feet in Vienna and in other places, but that they also will help to determine the rapid pace of disarmament. Our meeting arrived at responsible decisions on this and has already approved far-reaching documents.

In this year, in which the 75th anniversary of World War I and the 50th anniversary of World War II are taking place, all states and peoples are called upon to once again profess their commitment to the obligation to ensure peace.

I add that this is significant, particularly for the socialist German state and for its capital pf Berlin—a "city of peace"—because this accords with the antifascist legacy to accept responsibility of ensuring that war never again emanates from German soil, but only peace. You may rest assured that the socialist German republic—a state of socialism and, thus, of peace—will do everything possible for this.

As your host, I feel bound to pay particular tribute to the comradely and constructive cooperation that also characterized this conference.

I ask you to raise your glasses with me to drink to

—our alliance;
—the success of our common policy and actions aimed at consolidating world peace and strengthening socialism;
—the health of you all!

### Honecker Receives Ministers

*LD1204141589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1210 GMT 12 Apr 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received the foreign ministers who participated in the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee meeting.

He praised their work at this meeting as a contribution to the further formulation of the Warsaw Pact's political concept of disarmament. The most important thing now, Erich Honecker stated, is for the disarmament process to not be interrupted. This is in accordance with the orientation of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers committee meeting, which just took place, to increase efforts to continue the disarmament process in the conventional and nuclear spheres. The socialist states have put their position to the test for the world to see through demonstrable—and unilateral—measures. One should now expect, it was said in the talks, that constructive contributions which support new agreements on disarmament, and which at the same time refrain from carrying out anything to block them, should also ensue from NATO.

Erich Honecker emphasized that the Berlin committee meeting statement on tactical nuclear weapons is of extraordinarily great importance. For a long time the GDR has been searching for ways to make possible a zero-zero option to eliminate nuclear weapons in Europe. One such way is the proposal for separate negotiations for reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components of dual-capability weapons, which has now been officially presented by the Warsaw Pact. The locale of the talks on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the World War II is of special significance in view of the increase of neo-Nazism in the FRG and Berlin (West). It is more than a symbolic gesture, the highest GDR representative stated, that this statement has been issued on German soil.

Erich Honecker briefed the participants in the talks about topical questions of development in the GDR in connection with the preparations for the 12th SED party congress. Here the wide-ranging public discussions to prepare for local elections were characterized as an expression of living socialist democracy, which releases new initiatives for improvements in working and living conditions.

The SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council asked the foreign ministers to convey his warmest greetings and best wishes to the general secretaries and first secretaries of the fraternal parties.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch were present at the meeting, which took place in a friendly and open atmosphere.

### Varkonyi Discusses Session

*LD1204200889 Budapest MTI in English 1836 GMT 12 Apr 89*

[Text] Berlin, April 12 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, who attended the Berlin session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of Warsaw Treaty member states, issued a statement to Hungarian journalists on the documents accepted and work done in Berlin.

He said three documents were accepted by the committee of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty in Berlin: a statement pertaining to European tactical nuclear weapons, a call for freeing the world from war, and the usual statement concluding the session.

'Our main concern is tactical nuclear disarmament, which would make for European stability and the reduction of the danger of a surprise attack. We believe our proposal for talks on tactical nuclear disarmament does not interfere with the disarmament talks in Vienna—on the contrary, it would complement them. The reduction of European tactical nuclear weapons, including the stemming of disproportions, or their total elimination, would be a huge step towards total nuclear disarmament.

'We paid great attention to the evaluation of the Vienna follow-up conference,' the minister continued. 'We said on behalf of Hungary that the balanced implementation of the documents accepted by the pan-European conference was a condition of progress. We would not accept the selective fulfilment of obligation. The Vienna meeting was a breakthrough in promoting human rights and humanitarian relations, and establishing a mechanism of human dimensions.'

### Communique Issued on Meeting

*AU1704130589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Apr 89 pp 1, 3*

["Communique of the Session of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact Member States"]

[Text] The Committee of the Foreign Ministers of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance held a regular meeting here on 11-12 April 1989.

The meeting was attended by Petur Mladenov, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic; Oskar Fischer, foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, Tadeusz Olechowski, foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic, Ioan Totu, foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Jaromir Johanes, foreign minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The ministers were satisfied to note progress in strengthening peace and disarmament, which offers favorable opportunities for broadening cooperation among states and peoples.

They stated at the same time that the world situation remains complicated and contradictory. The Warsaw Pact member countries are fully resolved to continue a policy of fundamentally improving the situation in Europe and the world and expect other states to show the required constructive attitudes and realism.

The meeting called for furthering political dialogue on key issues of world development, based on a comprehensive approach to enhancing international peace and security in keeping with the UN Charter, with the role and effectiveness of this world organization being constantly on the increase.

The participants in the meeting came out for stepping up efforts to continue the disarmament process. They reiterated the position of their states on the need to substantially reduce armed forces and conventional arms along with effecting corresponding cuts in military spending.

As European affairs were discussed, the attending ministers exchanged opinions on the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting and pointed out that its final document contains understandings whose realization will facilitate stronger peace and security in Europe, better mutual understanding and closer cooperation on the continent.

It is essential for all states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to fulfill the understandings unilaterally, in bilateral and multilateral relations on the basis of extensive mutually advantageous cooperation in political, military, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and humanitarian fields and in the sphere of the human dimension with respect for equality, independence, and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and other principles and objectives of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and other universally recognized norms of international relations.

The participants in the meeting expressed the determination of their states to act in this direction.

The ministers hailed the start of talks on conventional armed forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe and stressed the firm will of their countries to pursue a constructive line at these negotiations and press for specific results within a short time.

Unilateral steps taken by allies states to cut their armed forces, armaments and military budgets have been a graphic manifestation of this will.

The Warsaw Pact member states urge the NATO member states and all European nations to take specific steps that will help scale down military confrontation in Europe.

They also call on them to refrain from any action capable of undermining anything positive that has already been achieved in improving the international situation and of complicating the talks started in Vienna.

It is becoming ever more obvious today that it is imperative for the Warsaw Pact and NATO to form relations on a truly non-confrontational basis and for corresponding conditions to be created with a view to simultaneously dissolving both alliances, starting from their military wings.

The ministers voiced the hope that these considerations will find understanding and support.

Noting the importance of fulfilling precisely the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the ministers pointed out the inadmissibility of any "compensatory" measures, including those taken under the pretext of modernizing tactical nuclear arms.

A separate statement was adopted on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

It was emphasized at the meeting that an early treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50-percent reduction in their strategic offensive arms in the context of compliance with the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, remains a top priority, and that this will be a major contribution to creating a nuclear-free world.

It was emphasized at the same time that it is essential to work toward totally eliminating nuclear, chemical, and other types of mass-destruction weapons.

The ministers stated that multilateral, bilateral, and unilateral measures to reduce armed forces and armaments have placed the problem of converting military production to civilian needs on the agenda of the day.

It is a complex and many-sided problem which effectively requires both national and joint efforts. An important role in this respect can by played by the United Nations.

In the interest of further increasing openness in the military field, the meeting called for continued efforts to work out criteria for comparing military budgets with the use of standardized international accounts of military spending, which are accepted at the United Nations.

The meeting made a point of noting that strict respect for the existing territorial-political realities, the inviolability of the existing borders, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and the universally recognized principles and norms of interstate relations is the principal condition of a stable world order in Europe and a guarantee of developing and consolidating the all-European process.

The improving political climate and the current growing interdependence are creating favorable prerequisites for activating economic contacts between states with different sociopolitical systems, which is an essential factor for developing the CSCE process on a balanced basis.

The meeting pointed out the need for expanding trade, promoting cooperative arrangements in production and science and technology, and in ensuring access to modern technology along with lifting restrictions and discriminatory impediments of all kinds.

As they compared notes on regional conflicts, including those in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Central America, the ministers reaffirmed the resolve of their states to actively assist their political resolution by taking into account the rightful interests of the sides and by demonstrating respect for the right of every people to decide their own destiny.

The ministers expressed themselves in favor of independent, nonaligned, and democratic Afghanistan, and for ensuring its free development on the basis of a policy of national reconciliation without any outside interference.

They stressed the need for further efforts to settle the Afghan problem.

The meeting noted the progress achieved in peacefully defusing conflicts in some regions and the efforts of the United Nations in this field.

A separate address, "For a World Without Wars", was adopted.

The meeting expressed a firm intention to develop and deepen all-around cooperation among the allied socialist states.

The meeting of the foreign ministers committee was held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely mutual understanding.

The next meeting is to take place in Warsaw.

### Ministers Depart Berlin

*LD1204181489 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 1652 GMT 12 Apr 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ministers of foreign affairs from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR who took part in the routine Berlin committee meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states have left Berlin with the other members of their delegations.

Dr. Herbert Krolikowski, GDR state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs, was at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport to bid them farewell, as were various other public figures. Also present were the GDR-accredited ambassadors of the Warsaw Pact member states.

### CEMA Official Meets CTK, TASS Directors

*LD1504005889 Prague CTK in English 1552 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Moscow April 14 (CTK correspondent)—Director General of the Czechoslovak CTK news agency Otto Cmolik and Deputy Secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) Marin Petrov Marinov signed here today an agreement on cooperation between the agency and the CMEA Secretariat.

The document sets the principles of cooperation between the organizations with the emphasis on the extension and improvement of mutual exchange and information.

Otto Cmolik also held talks with Director General of the Soviet TASS news agency Leonid Kravchenko on further development of cooperation in the exchange of information and other spheres of the two agencies' activities. Promotion of contacts was a subject of Otto Cmolik's discussion with chairman of the NOVOSTI Press Agency Albert Vlasov.

## Chief Polish Delegate on Vienna CSCE Talks

*AU2903155689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 89 p 6*

[Article by Wlodzimierz Konarski, head of the Polish delegation to the Vienna CSCE talks: "A Good Start"]

[Excerpts] The start of the Vienna CSCE talks indicates that the centuries-old maxim "si vis pacem, para bellum" ("if you want peace, prepare for war") may soon become invalid. If one wants peace today, one must construct joint European security based on an agreement that will lead to the removal of military threats from our continent. The words of Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski about excessive military potentials being an "uncomfortable corset" that restricts the freedom of movement are frequently being repeated in Vienna. [passage omitted]

Poland possesses a long and good tradition of active involvement in disarmament dialogue. However, the latest talks are more than just dialogue—and everyone knows that there is a great need for this dialogue. All over Europe, public opinion is expecting rapid results from these talks. It is in our Polish interest to achieve these results, and not just by means of dialogue with the West, but also by means of intelligent talks with our Warsaw Pact allies, among whom there are different proposals and concepts, just like within the North Atlantic alliance.

The Vienna talks may affect not only the condition and future of Polish security, but also the future of Europe, which is supposed to be devoid of danger and the possibility of using force, with all the attendant consequences of such a situation. Assuring Poland's proper place in this kind of Europe and safeguarding its political interests and defensive credibility are values that cannot be overestimated. The gradual attainment of joint security in Europe and the pursuance of an energetic disarmament diplomacy that serves these objectives requires fuller and closer coordination between national and allied defensive doctrines and foreign policy and diplomacy. Everything indicates that this new path of thought will permit the more effective defense of our interests in a changing Europe.

If the West also wants to avail itself of the Vienna opportunities, then a first accord on profound reductions in military potentials may be possible during the next 2-3 years.

## Sofia Delegate to NATO-Pact Talks Interviewed

*AU1404141089 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 13 Apr 89 p 3*

[Report on interview with Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, Bulgarian first deputy minister of national defense, by Momchil Petrov: "The Vienna Clock"; date, place not given]

[Text] The negotiations on conventional arms and on confidence- and security-building measures which were briefly interrupted at the Vienna Hofburg are expected to be resumed. The chief goal of these negotiations is to considerably reduce the combat strength of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The problems are quite complicated, but the dynamic start of the new Vienna negotiations filled both politicians and journalists with such optimism that we became somewhat incautious.

Could it be possible that the negotiations may one day reach a dead end? As a matter of fact, from a realistic point of view, we should admit that the negotiations are related only to armaments in which the Warsaw Pact has superiority, without taking into account the existing imbalance to the advantage of NATO. Will the West continue to rely on the one-sided initiative of the socialist countries? Where is the sensible limit of unilateral disarmament? These and numerous other questions require an answer.

Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, explains the situation as follows: The sensible limit is reasonable sufficiency. We should reach a level of armaments and armed forces that enables us to resist aggression in case this becomes necessary. This is the level of reasonable sufficiency, and we should not go further below this level. We do not think that we have crossed this limit. In order to achieve a reliable peace, combat forces, even if reduced in number, should not be concentrated in one or two sectors. Naturally, the most interesting thing for us is to observe how the NATO strike forces will be dispersed in the Balkans, and this applies in particular to the numerically strong Turkish Army, which is equipped with modern weapons, General Dobrev quite correctly pointed out.

The transformation of the armed forces into a purely defensive institution will be discussed at a later stage of the Vienna negotiations. This applies to the Balkans as well. The main forces of the Turkish Army are stationed in eastern Thracia, namely near our borders. This influences the deployment of our Army today. Nevertheless, when the question of establishing zones with a reduced concentration of troops is raised, a solution should evidently also be found for our region, Gen Dobrev emphasized.

Both the Warsaw Pact and NATO are treating the data released by each side on each other's military potential with distrust. How should we proceed under these circumstances?

The cold war forged the image of the enemy in both the East and West over many years. This is the source of distrust. Modern means of reconnaissance make it possible to establish the military power of each side with sufficient precision. It is not a question of concealing data, but rather of the efforts of the Americans to exclude from the negotiations certain types of weapons, such as strategic bombers and the combat potential of their naval forces.... The Vienna clock is now counting the last

years of cold war. How would you like to see relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO after mutual distrust has been eliminated?

Perhaps, just like this: with the Warsaw Pact and NATO no longer in existence, Gen Dobrev says.

**Gorbachev's London Speech, NATO Goals Viewed**
*AU1104130189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Apr 89 p 2*

["He."-signed commentary: "Struggle for Disarmament in the Interest of All Peoples"]

[Text] The struggle for disarmament is important to people in both the East and West. The reason for this is both simple and serious. Banishing the danger of a nuclear war, including its conventional aspects, is the key issue of our time, the elementary precondition for the survival of mankind. The peace policy and the far-reaching disarmament program of socialism take this into consideration. Great efforts will be required to implement this program, for the opponents of disarmament and detente have not yet given up their resistance to these.

For this reason, socialism has repeatedly launched initiatives. This has again been demonstrated by the decisions of the Soviet Union that were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to London. These testify to the determination with which the struggle for disarmament is being waged. The USSR will stop producing highly enriched uranium for military purposes. With the shutdown of another two plutonium reactors—one was shut down in 1987—a significant step toward a complete halt to the production of fissionable material for military purposes is being taken. As far as chemical weapons are concerned, the construction of a plant for the destruction of such arms was agreed. The 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons continues to top the agenda of Soviet-U.S. relations, as Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out.

As for the reduction of conventional armed forces and weapons, the socialist states announced these unilateral disarmament steps prior to the start of the Vienna talks. The question thus arises when NATO will supply an adequate reply. It continues to adhere to the outdated myth concerning the "threat from the East," which it uses to explain the need for the so-called deterrence doctrine, which provides for a nuclear first strike.

The actual balance of power is as follows: When including strategic nuclear armed forces, the Warsaw Pact has 5.3 million men, 10,500 aircraft, over 4,200 combat helicopters, 80,000 tanks, and 160 large surface ships. Except for tanks, NATO is in all these fields superior to the Warsaw Pact.

Irrespective of this, the West continues the arms race. NATO plans to "modernize" its tactical nuclear weapons. Gorbachev stressed in London that there is no doubt that if NATO starts to "modernize" its tactical nuclear weapons, this will have an impact on the Vienna talks, on confidence-building measures, and on the whole situation in Europe, and that this will devalue much of what has been achieved within the framework of the treaty on intermediate-and short-range missiles. The USSR is strictly opposed to modernizing any type of nuclear weapon. It is not making efforts in this respect and it does not plan to do so unless it is forced to do so.

For this reason, one can only hope that common sense will continue to prevail in the West. "Modernization" is tantamount to resuming the arms race. Europe and the whole world, however, need disarmament to avert the danger of a nuclear inferno. The peoples want the diabolical things to disappear; they prefer armed forces that are only used for defense and not for attacks.

Certain politicians in the West will have to find answers to the question of whether they wish to reply to the new Soviet initiatives only with empty phrases like "steps in the right direction, but...." The peoples will no longer accept this destructive "but." They have been encouraged in their struggle for disarmament and peace by the most recent steps on the part of the USSR. It is worth using all one's strength in this struggle.

**Alia, Other Leaders Pay Tribute at Hoxha's Grave**
*AU1104142189*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1330 GMT on 11 April begins its regular newscast with a 4-minute report of a ceremony held at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery in Tirana, on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the death of Enver Hoxha.

A correspondent describes the scene, saying that a large crowd is waiting for the arrival of party and state leaders, while solemn music is being played by a band. The correspondent then announces the arrival of: "Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary; Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee chairman; Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP Central Committee member and president of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania; representatives of mass organizations and Tirana District party and state cadres."

The correspondent then describes the scene as Ramiz Alia and the other party and state leaders line up in front of Enver Hoxha's grave, while the national anthem is being played, after which they lay a number of wreaths. In conclusion, the correspondent says that Ramiz and other party and state leaders talk to members of the public gathered for the ceremony.

**Tirana Reports Economic Progress for 9-15 Apr**
*AU1504153889*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 9-15 April carries the following economic performance reports (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Fier District: Fifty collectives report having fulfilled or overfulfilled the quarterly plan. (1800 GMT 9 Apr 89)

Kolonje District: The industrial production plan up to 5 April was overfulfilled by 106,000 leks. (1800 GMT 10 Apr 89)

Kruje District: The metallurgical-chemical combine in Lac exceeded its first quarterly production plan by 700,000 leks. (1800 GMT 13 Apr 89)

Kukes District: The industrial production plan has been exceeded by 4 percent. (1800 GMT 11 Apr 89)

Lushnje District: The industrial production plan for the first quarter was exceeded by 3.5 percent. (1800 GMT 12 Apr 89)

Sarande District: The overall industrial production plan up to 10 April was overfulfilled by 3.5 million leks. (1800 GMT 13 Apr 89)

Tropoje District: The quarterly industrial production plan was exceeded by 500,000 leks. (1800 GMT 11 Apr 89)

**Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-14 Apr Noted**
*AU1404144789*

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 8-14 April reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee [CC] first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lenka Cuko, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary; Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary; Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District people's Council Executive Committee chairman; and Nexhmije Hoxha, AWP CC member, attended on 11 April a ceremony held at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery in Tirana on the fourth anniversary of the death of Enver Hoxha. (1330 GMT 11 Apr 89)

Hekuran Isai, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, and Prokop Murra, AWP CC Politburo member and minister of people's defense, on 8 April attended a ceremony held in Tirana to commemorate the 45th anniversary of army engineers. (1800 GMT 8 Apr 89)

### 'Dissidents' on Hunger Strike for Jailed Poet

*AU1704074889 Paris AFP in English 1236 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Text] Vienna, April 15 (AFP)—Five Bulgarian dissidents began a hunger strike in Bulgaria on Saturday to protest at an 18-month hard-labour term summarily imposed on poet Nicolay Kolev because his job was judged "to be of no use to society".

The hunger-strikers include journalist and poet Petur Manolov who is secretary-general of the Independent Association for Human Rights, Father Khristofor, a priest who is chairman of the Committee for the Defence of Religious Rights and Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Independent Intellectuals Union "Podkrepa" (support).

All three organisations are unauthorised.

Nicolay Kolev, who has been sent to work in mines at Bobovdol, is one of the best-known translators of the Russian language in Bulgaria. He was arrested while attending a meeting of Podkrepa.

The hunger-strikers said five more dissidents would join in the protest every week until the authorities agreed to give Nicolay Kolev a fair trial and the assistance of a lawyer.

### Hungarian Party Leader Grosz Arrives 16 Apr

*AU1604195089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], arrived on 16 April in Bulgaria on a friendly working visit. This is his first visit to Bulgaria since his election to the highest party post.

The meetings between the first leaders of the fraternal parties and countries acquire a special importance under the conditions of the social transformations that are taking place. Bulgaria and Hungary actively contribute to the favorable development of the contemporary situation, asserting the new political thinking, and strengthening mutual confidence and understanding. The forthcoming Bulgarian-Hungarian dialogue will focus on these issues.

At Sofia airport the MSZMP general secretary was cordially greeted by Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary.

Comrade Karoly Grosz is accompanied by Pal Ivanyi, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, Geza Kotai, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and director of the MSZMP Central Committee International Relations Department, and other officials.

### Arrives Amid Reform 'Anxiety'

*LD1704001289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Text] Our special correspondent Zoltan Tamasi reports that MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz has arrived in Sofia. The official talks with head of state Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian sister party, will begin in the morning. Observers note that in connection with the visit a certain amount amount of anxiety is being experienced in Bulgaria concerning the Hungarian developments, particularly concerning the extraordinary rapidity of the political and economic reforms. Methods for making economic cooperation more effective will also be discussed during Karoly grosz's Sofia talks.

### Zhivkov-Grosz Talks Open

*LD1704092289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Talks have begun between Karoly Grosz and Todor Zhivkov in Sofia. The two general secretaries are holding a private meeting. The members of Karoly Grosz's entourage are also having talks with their Bulgarian counterparts. The Sofia papers are front-paging the visit by the general secretary of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] which began yesterday. They emphasized that the Hungarian-Bulgarian summit could facilitate the process of transformation in both countries.

### Stanishev Receives GDR Party Delegation

*AU1704091189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Apr 89 p 6*

[Text] On 13 April Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, received the working group of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], led by Rudolf Oelschlaeger, deputy director of the SED Central Committee Education Department, which is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee.

At the meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Comrade Dimitur Stanishev briefed the guests on restructuring that is taking place in our country. Issues related to cooperation between the two fraternal parties in the area of education also were discussed.

**Book of Zhivkov Speeches Published in Poland**
*AU1404110889 Sofia BTA in English*
*0712 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 14 (BTA)—The press launch was held here yesterday for a book of reports and speeches by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, which was published in Polish by the Sofia press agency.

The press launch was attended by Mr Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), by Mr Marian Stepien, secretary of the CC of the PUWP, and by other officials, public figures and journalists.

The book includes reports and speeches by Mr Todor Zhivkov delivered after the 13th Congress of the BCP in 1986. They outline the essence, the objectives and the tasks of restructuring in Bulgaria and the measures for its implementation. Besides this, the volume features reports and statements on disarmament, international security and cooperation, and specifically on peaceful good-neighbour relations in the Balkans and on the efforts to turn the peninsula into a nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zone.

Mr Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the PUWP, said that the book materializes the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. It appears at a particularly important time when both the Polish and the Bulgarian peoples are living through deep-going changes: The renewal in Poland and the restructuring in Bulgaria. It is only natural that these processes should be regarded with particular interest as the friends' problems and experience open up a precious opportunity to make use of all creative elements, of everything which enriches our theory and practice. Mr Marian Orzechowski emphasized that the volume provides information on the main problems facing Bulgaria and her Communist Party.

**Customs Official on Fight Against Drug Smuggling**
*AU1504174089 Sofia BTA in English*
*1635 GMT 15 Apr 89*

["Barrier to Drug Trafficking"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—The first drug smuggling through Bulgaria was caught in 1967 at the Kapitan Andreevo control-check point (on the southern border). In the next decade the amounts caught reached sometimes 5 tons annually. In 1988 about 160 kilograms of drugs were discovered of which 156.5 kg were of heroin. This was published today in ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME. Mr Teodor Tsvetkov, employee at the Customs Department of the Ministry of Economy and Planning says in an interview with the paper that after 1980 the Bulgarian customs officers have caught mainly smuggling consignments of heroin. This brings to the conclusion that the processing laboratories have been moved to the place of production. By 1980, in the span of a decade, a total of 40 kilograms of heroin were caught while in 1981 alone, 61 kilograms.

The customs officer cannot answer how much of the drugs trafficked through Bulgaria are being caught. In the West, where the consumption is, there are some approximate estimations about the amount of the drugs imported, but ours is a transit country. "The couriers cross the country only in a matter of few hours. They don't have partners in Bulgaria, " Mr Teodor Tsvetkov says.

"Until now, there has not been a case, registered either by the Bulgarian services or by the foreign ones, when a consignment or part of it was intended for Bulgaria," says Mr Teodor Tsvetkov, who has been working in this sphere for more than 20 years now.

"It is not possible that we discover everything," he says. "Over 95 percent of the land traffic between Asia and Europe passes through Bulgaria. In the summer season the amount of people reach about 100-120 thousand people per day and up to 25 thousand vehicles. This is one of the objective difficulties. The other is that we cannot, as it is possible to do in the consumer countries, reach the banned network by a marketing agent. But the information of the Bulgarian customs officers has helped their Western colleagues discover whole groups in certain cases."

Mr Teodor Tsvetkov says that all of the discovered drug smuggling at the country's border are merit to the Bulgarian customs officers. [sentence as received] They very rarely get signals and none of them have proved to be true until now.

Mr Tsvetkov thinks that the main thing remains to be the training of the customs officer, in spite of the technical novelties, which are constantly coming to life. "The technique only helps. But we have a system for permanent training, particularly for discovering of drugs. We use the foreign experience, too, particularly that of the United States, as a hit country, and naturally, with greatest experience," Mr Teodor Tsvetkov says. [sentence as received]

Bulgaria has also gained a significant experience, which she readily shares with the other countries. On her initiative, in December 1983 a Committee for Drug Control was founded at the Council of Customs Cooperation. Over the last 11 years Bulgaria hosted seven major international forums on the issues of smuggling.

It is said in the interview that the caught couriers are mainly Turkish citizens. A contract exists for cooperation with the Turkish customs house, too. And these cases are, therefore, reported to it.

The drugs caught in Bulgaria are burnt.

Mr Teodor Tsvetkov says in conclusion that the assessments of the work of Bulgarian customs officers, both at the border and on an international scale, have always been positive.

**Leaders' Public Appearances for 7-14 Apr**
*AU1504184689*

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 7-14 April monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Georgi Atanasov gave a dinner in Sofia on 10 April in honor of Vitaliy Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, which Grigor Stoichkov attended. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 10 Apr 89)

Todor Zhivkov, with Georgi Atanasov in attendance, received Ukrainian Council of Ministers Chairman Vitaliy Masol in Sofia on 13 April, after which he gave a luncheon in Masol's honor, which was attended by the following leaders: Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Georgi Stoichkov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 Apr 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 7 April Joao Kachamila, minister of mineral resources of Mozambique. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 7 Apr 89) In Sofia on 10 April, he started talks with Ukrainian Council of Ministers Chairman Vitaliy Masol. (Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 10 Apr 89) On 12 April Atanasov toured Varna and Tolbukhin with Ukrainian Premier Vitaliy Masol. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Apr 89) In Sofia on 14 April he ended his talks with Vitaliy Masol. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 14 Apr 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, attended a meeting in Sofia on 10 April to mark the 10th anniversary of the first Soviet-Bulgarian space flight. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Apr 89)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, held talks with Mexican senators and was received by President Salinas of Mexico in Mexico City on 8 April. (Sofia BTA in English 1351 GMT 8 Apr 89) On 10 April he and his delegation returned to Sofia from Mexico. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Apr 89 p 6)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, departed from Sofia on 10 April to attend a regular meeting of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee in Berlin. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 10 Apr 89) He returned to Sofia from Berlin on 12 April. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Apr 89)

Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting in Silistra on 6 April of the Silistra Municipal BCP Committee. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Apr 89 p 2) In Sofia on 11 April, he attended a festive meeting to commemorate the day of former political prisoners, concentration camp inmates and other victims of fascism. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 11 Apr 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, saw off Mikhail Kovalev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, at Sofia Airport on 7 April. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Apr 89 p 6) At Sofia Airport on 10 April, Lukanov welcomed Vitaliy Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 Apr 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, took part in a Bulgarian-FRG business forum in Hannover on 8 and 9 April, and also met with West German Government officials. (Sofia BTA in English 1728 GMT 8 Apr 89) (Sofia BTA in English 1759 GMT 9 Apr 89) In Stuttgart on 10 April, Ovcharov met with Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg. (Sofia BTA in English 1825 GMT 10 Apr 89)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, signed a protocol in Sofia on 8 April with Mozambican Mineral Resources Minister Joao Kachamila. (Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 8 Apr 89) In Sofia on 12 April Stoichkov received Phan Ngoc Tuong, minister of building of the SRV. (Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 12 Apr 89)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a conference of Bulgarian forestry workers held in Sofia on 7 April to mark their national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 7 Apr 89)

## Husak Toast to SFRY's Dizdarevic Published

*AU1404160889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Apr 89 p 2*

["Speech by Comrade G. Husak," CSSR president, at the dinner for Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in Prague on 12 April]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade President, esteemed Yugoslav guests, Comrades, permit me once again to greet, on behalf of the Czechoslovak people, our political and state leadership, and on my own behalf, Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and the members of his entourage here in Czechoslovakia. I want to wish you, Comrade President, a pleasant visit to our country; I want to express the wish that in our country you feel as well as I felt in yours during my visits in 1973 and 1987. I would like to recall the cordial hospitality and geniality of the Yugoslav people.

I welcome you in Czechoslovakia as the representative of a friendly country with which we are linked by many common, fateful stages in the life of our nations, and currently also by what has already become traditional, comprehensively developed cooperation. The basic pillars of this cooperation are the principles of equal rights, noninterference, mutual respect, independence, bilateral advantages, and respect for the paths of socialist development and for our different international status. I am convinced that the implementation of these principles that are tested by life is a reliable point of departure for further intensifying and consolidating our future mutual relations.

Today's talks with Comrade Dizdarevic were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding. We positively evaluated the results which have been achieved, and the level of our collaboration. An intensive political dialogue is currently taking place between our countries. By a joint effort, we are successfully maintaining numerous regular and, above all, businesslike contacts through our communist parties, governments, legisiative bodies, social organizations, republics, and partnership cities. Contacts in culture, medical care, science, and sports are being stepped up. Tourism is contributing to the close relations between our people.

We are sincerely interested in intensifying cooperation between our socialist countries. We want to further enrich our mutual contacts in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres. This corresponds to the vital needs of our nations, to the interests of socialism, and to the tasks of building socialism.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have become important partners in trade. However, despite the results achieved, we still have considerable reserves in economic and scientific-technical cooperation. We regard the establishment of direct contacts between enterprises, the expansion of cooperation and specialization, and joint entrepreneurship on third markets as the main prerequisites for using these reserves more efficiently and effectively. The Operational Program for Realizing the Long-term Program for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Through the Year 2000 and the Agreement on Scientific-Technical Cooperation set out broad scope for implementing these higher forms of cooperation. Both agreements will be signed tomorrow.

Today, the socialist countries are striving to develop their potential more effectively and to make more efficient use of it. They reappraise and change things that no longer correspond to the demands of the new period. We in Czechoslovakia have also started to carry out an economic and social reform, to intensify socialist democracy, and to increase the people's participation in management. In order to achieve these aims, we mobilize the creative forces of our people. We consider it extremely important to study the way individual countries are building socialism and to exchange the experience acquired in this.

Esteemed Comrade President, I am most gratified to be able to say that our talks have confirmed our concurrent or close stands in the evaluation of the current international situation. We both share the view that positive trends have begun to appear in the development of international relations, despite the complicated and contradictory nature of the world. This is attested to by the improvement of relations between East and West, between the Soviet Union and the United States. This is attested to by the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the transition of disarmament negotiations in the nuclear, chemical, and conventional sphere to the level of a businesslike dialogue, and progress in the solution of regional conflicts. On the whole, the atmosphere in the world has improved and security has been consolidated.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that the main task is still before us. The common task of both large and small countries is to make these processes permanent. The agenda of the day includes efforts to reduce the strategic nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States by half, and to conclude negotiations on eliminating chemical weapons, banning nuclear tests, and justly settling regional conflicts by political means.

The beginning of talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals is of extraordinary significance for Czechoslovakia. By our recent unilateral disarmament measures we have proved, together with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states, our goodwill and our interest in reaching specific results. Similar countermeasures by the NATO countries would contribute to the negotiations.

We are vigorously promoting the further development of the Europe-wide process, enriched by the results of the follow-up meeting of Vienna. Our specific contribution here are our initiatives on creating a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO, and on the cooperation of neighboring countries in the environmental sphere. Likewise, we fully support the proposals to create zones and corridors free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

We highly appreciate Yugoslavia's specific contribution to world peace and detente, its energetic approach to establishing relations of trust and understanding on the Balkan peninsula, and its significant role in the Nonaligned Movement. We will follow with close attention the course and results of the ninth summit meeting of nonaligned countries, which is to be held in Belgrade in September 1989.

Like the peoples of Yugoslavia, the people in Czechoslovakia have also cruelly suffered from European and world wars; they are therefore devoted followers of peace and of resolving conflicts by political means, preferring negotiations to confrontations. We are resolutely against all expressions of pressure, aggression, or racial intolerance.

Esteemed Comrade Dizdarevic, our talks have shown that our countries are currently confronted by considerable tasks, and that the welfare of our two countries depends on their accomplishment. I am glad that the results of our negotiations contribute to this.

Permit me to raise my glass to toast the health of Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency; to the further development and consolidation of friendship between the CSSR and the SFRY; and to the further successes of the forces of peace and progress throughout the world. Your health, Comrades!

## SFRY's Dizdarevic Toasts Husak at 12 Apr Dinner

*AU1704104289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Apr 89 p 2*

["Speech by Comrade R. Dizdarevic," president of the SFRY Presidency, at the dinner in his honor in Prague on 12 April]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Husak, dear friends, permit me to thank you most cordially for voicing such ardent friendly feelings, which reach the hearts of all Yugoslav people.

The history, culture, and memories of every nation contain places which can never lose their significance. The Charles University and many famous memorials in Prague have been part of life and its inspiration for many a creative artist and revolutionary from our country; Golden Prague, your historical and intellectual residence, is a symbol of special sentiments linking the past and present generations of our people.

Our contacts with Czechoslovakia and its nations are ancient and multifaceted—they attest to our belonging to the same European civilizations, our close mutual sympathies, which stem from the idea of freedom as the supreme value, and the exchange of achievements the of mind and spirit for our mutual enrichment. The same is true of our present: Czechoslovakia is a state which we need as a friend, and which receives every Yugoslav as a friend.

The lessons which we have learned from our past relations have a lasting value; this applies to our thoughts about the present, to the suggestions which are made, and to the preparation of plans for future relations. The principles from which we proceed, defined during your talks with President Tito, were and are the basis of a permanent and stable development of our relations, which leads us to a frank and friendly dialogue and encourages cooperation. It is not surprising that we cherish them. In fact, friendship between states cannot be set up overnight, and the cooperation which accompanies it does not do so automatically. A lot of effort, common will, and sometimes even courage were needed to establish the present relations and cooperation of which we are so justly proud.

We recall your visit of 1987, Comrade Husak, with great pleasure, it was an honor for us. A regular dialogue not only provides ideas, it also creates prerequisites for our cooperation, and this was emphatically confirmed during the fruitful period of cooperation that followed your visit.

Our cooperation is extensive, comprehensive, and rich in contents. This is attested to by the ramified contacts between our social organizations, parties, parliaments, and cities, and between our economic, cultural, and scientific workers. A great deal has been achieved—but not enough to make us totally satisfied. I am thinking in particular about our economic, scientific, technological, and technical cooperation which, simply because of its substance, must keep in step with the times. That is why we must jointly strive to enrich, intensify, and make more productive the cooperation in these areas, and also in the sphere of the cultural, intellectual, and creative achievements of our nations. During our talks today it was affirmed that we are aware of this necessity, which is essential for everybody who looks toward the future, and that we are prepared to meet this necessity by utilizing every existing possibility.

In speaking of the search for better and better solutions, this eternal moving force of mankind and its civilization, I would like to point out the attention with which we in Yugoslavia observe the economic and social reforms in your country. We deeply respect the achievements of the

friendly Czech and Slovak nations in building socialism and in searching for better solutions, both for the present and the future, and we wish you lots of success in this.

In fact, these processes—which differ in form and in their points of departure, but which are still somewhat related—have affected a number of socialist countries; they are all the more important since they are taking place at a time when progress and the road toward progress are becoming the touchstone of effectiveness for every society and a confirmation of its humaneness, is the affirmation and man's status as an individual, and the rights and freedoms which he enjoys [sentence incomplete as published]. Respect and understanding for the desires and efforts of others enrich everybody's understanding and experience.

The present stage of development of our socialist self-managing democracy demands new answers and new solutions. By deciding on a comprehensive social reform and on thorough changes, particularly in our economic system and our development strategy, we are taking the path we set ourselves under Tito's leadership: the path of getting rid of things, without prejudice, which have failed to assert themselves in practice and have become exhausted or been superseded—briefly, the path of creatively searching for better things.

I believe that the reform of our own economic system and the changes taking place in your country will open up new possibilities for even broader cooperation between us and those who hitherto have been our mutually reliable and significant partners.

Successful cooperation is a matter of the greatest interest for our two countries. However, let us not forget that the more successful this cooperation is, the better it will contribute to cooperation and rapprochement throughout Europe.

The awareness of Europe's own role and responsibility in worldwide relations is growing on this continent—perhaps more than at any time in the past. Detente between the great powers, the historical beginning of the disarmament process, the negotiations on European security and conventional disarmament which are being conducted in parallel, the increasingly disappearing prejudices about different sectors of European relations, a broader exchange and circulation of ideas and people all show the European nations' wish to make their continent secure and stable, and an open home for everybody. However, if Europe—and one could even say the whole world—is to achieve this, then everybody must become a competent partner, capable of making efficient use of all the existing potentials and of facing the challenges on the threshold of the 21st century. Only a consistent and total revival of the Helsinki Final Act will make Europe into a Europe for everybody.

Yugoslavia is a nonaligned country, standing outside the blocs, a socialist country with autonomous self-management. However, it is also part of Europe, of the Mediterranean, of the Balkans; and it is one of the developing countries. Although it is open to the whole world and to all processes taking place in it, its fateful links with Europe are, essentially, logical. Regardless of all the things in which we differ, it is in the vital interests of our two countries to give priority to that which is common to all of Europe and the world, and to place it above all differences, so that universally beneficial cooperation would put an end to inherited factors that cause separation, factors which benefit nobody and act as a barrier on the path of progress. That is why our respect for your efforts and contributions is all the greater.

The world as a whole has entered a new period, characterized by intensifying dialogue, negotiations, and cooperation, by the willingness to tackle unsolvable problems and their origins. The progress in many spheres of international relations is obvious. However, world peace and stability can become both lasting and general only if everybody becomes involved in the search for a solution to the above problems and only if this search includes all spheres that form the substance of these problems. Never in the past have peace, development, and democracy in international relations formed such an indivisible whole.

Contemporary world events are virtually the realization of the most significant, if not all, of the goals which the Nonaligned Movement set for itself almost 30 years ago. However, this does not diminish the value of the role played by the Nonaligned Movement. On the contrary, at a time when the principles of the policy promoted by the nonaligned are gaining increasing recognition, this role is becoming all the more essential for the further continuation of processes which have started to develop in international relations. This is how the Movement regards its tasks in the coming years, while simultaneously orienting itself—as always—toward the closest possible cooperation with everybody in the world.

Esteemed Comrade Husak, dear friends, in thanking all of you once again for your outstanding hospitality, ardent feelings, and cordiality, I cannot resist the emotions that take hold of me on seeing your country, Prague, and the people dear to me. I have spent unforgettable years here, years filled with friendship. From here I have taken with me and never lost the most beautiful feeling a person can have: the feeling that there are no frontiers between people with open hearts and who are filled with goodwill.

I raise this glass to toast your health, Comrade Husak, to drink the health of all friends present here, to drink to the CSSR's all-around success and the further welfare of its people, to the friendship and cooperation between our two socialist countries.

**Ladislav Adamec Departs for 2-Day Visit to GDR**
*LD1704091489 Prague CTK in English 0720 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Prague April 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec left today for a two-day friendly working visit to the German Democratic Republic, at the invitation of his GDR counterpart Willi Stoph.

Ladislav Adamec was seen off at Prague Airport by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina, Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Interior Minister Frantisek Kincl.

**Deputies Send Letter to U.S. Congressmen**
*LD1304214189 Prague CTK in English 2023 GMT 13 Apr 89*

[Text] Washington April 13 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Ambassador to the United States Miroslav Houstecky presented today a letter from Czechoslovak Deputies Miroslav Stepan and Vaclav Stafek to chairman of the U.S. Congress Subcommittee for Human Rights and International Organizations Gus Yatron.

The chairmen of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly House of the People and House of Nations Foreign Relations Committees in their letter of April 7 voiced concern over the violent suppression of peaceful demonstrations against the U.S. policy in El Salvador held in Washington and New York in March 1989.

Referring to the proclaimed interest of U.S. congressmen in human rights and their support for the Vienna follow-up meeting final document, the letter said Czechoslovak deputies would welcome information about the stand of members of the House of Representatives on suppression of peaceful demonstrations in their own country and about specific steps taken by them in this context in relation to the U.S. Government.

Gus Yatron promised to answer the letter, saying he considered it part of effort to develop dialogue between U.S. congressmen and Czechoslovak Federal Assembly deputies on questions to which they attach great significance in relations between the United States and Czechoslovakia without intending to interfere in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs.

The Czechoslovak ambassador also acquainted the U.S. congressman with the course of the restructuring in Czechoslovakia and the conclusions reached by the Czechoslovak Government after discussing the Vienna meeting final document. He also informed him of the mass publication of the document in Czech and Slovak.

**Stanislav Devaty Released From Detention**
*LD1404184389 Prague CTK in English 1440 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Prague April 14 (CTK)—The prosecutor of the Brno regional prosecutor's office today released from detention Stanislav Devaty as the reasons for his detention have ceased to exist. The investigation of his activity continues.

**Parents Request FRG To Extradite Hijackers**
*AU1704135189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Apr 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "Further Steps Aimed at Extraditing the Hijackers of a Hungarian Airliner"]

[Text] Prague—As our public has already been informed, on 29 March at Prague's Ruzyne Airport two minors, Czechoslovak citizens Stefan Macicko and Dusan Styk, seized a passenger plane owned by the Hungarian MALEV Aviation Company and, threatening to use violence, forced the crew to fly with hostages to Frankfurt am Main in the FRG.

Asked by CTK what our pertinent organs have undertaken in order to have the FRG extradite hijackers who are Czechoslovak citizens, Ivan Kulhanek, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said:

"In connection with the hijacking, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other Czechoslovak authorities have immediately taken measures aimed at extraditing the culprits to the pertinent Czechoslovak organs. The official Czechoslovak request for the extradition of the culprits was delivered to the charge d'affaires of the FRG Embassy in the CSSR on 30 March.

"Furthermore, the conviction was expressed that the FRG bodies will approach the assessment of the Czechoslovak request from the joint position that terrorism cannot be justified under any circumstance. Our ministry conveyed to the West German side that the Czechoslovak request should be assessed from the viewpoint of good-neighborly relations between the CSSR and the FRG. Our side also affirmed the principle of reciprocity, in case an aircraft from the FRG is hijacked to the CSSR.

"Further steps have been undertaken recently aimed at extraditing the hijackers. Three documents were handed to the consul of the West German Embassy: a resolution on the initiation of criminal proceedings against those who hijacked the MALEV Aviation Company's aircraft, a resolution on bringing charges against them, and warrants for the accused minors, Dusan Styk and Stefan Macicka.

"Even though what is involved is a serious criminal offense, one must take into consideration the feelings of the parents of the two culprits. From a profoundly humane approach, their justified demand that the

minors be returned to the CSSR plays an important role. In this respect, the parents of the two culprits are aware of the seriousness of the criminal offense committed by their children as well as of the consequences. In their letters to West German authorities the parents demand that their children be extradited to the Czechoslovak authorities. On Thursday [13 April] our ministry handed those letters via its consular department to the FRG Embassy in the CSSR."

## Editorial Comments on Members Leaving Party

*AU1704133889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Apr 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "Interviews Without Formalism"]

[Excerpts] Interviews with members and candidate members of the party are an important part of the preparations for this year's annual membership meetings of the party's primary organizations, which will be held this fall. The interviews have already begun in about half the primary organizations, and will go on for several months. [passage omitted]

It is necessary that the interviews be a frank, comradely chat about a member's share in the work of the party and his further participation in the implementation of the tasks of restructuring. The important thing is that every Communist should approach his work self-critically and that in the interview the committees of the primary organizations proceed solely from the real results of his activity. [passage omitted]

However, in some organizations the interviews degenerate into a general chat and criticism of various shortcomings. The expression of one's own share in the common feat is lacking. At the same time, it has been stressed several times that the main thing is to pay attention to how every party organization (its individual members) has been asserting party tasks at its place of work. Turning one's head the other way, seeing only the mistakes of other people and keeping silent about one's own is like building a house beginning with the roof.

There are even voices that try to compare the current interviews with the interviews held after the 1968-69 period of crisis. In this connection, concern is voiced about whether the purpose of these interviews is not some sort of "purge" in the party. We repeat, the main purpose of the interviews is to increase the Communists' activity and their ability to act to ensure the conclusions of the 17th party congress and the subsequent Central Committee sessions. Therefore, the interview also provides an opportunity for someone that has been inactive to ponder his own person and, by fulfilling a specific task entrusted to him, increase his personal participation in asserting the policy of the party. After the 18th CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Congress the party organization will go back to that task and consistently assess each comrade's performance.

However, on this occasion there are also cases of some members asking that their membership be terminated. They give various reasons for this step. They are mostly members who have been passive for a longer time and not even a comradely interview in the committee has made them increase their activity. In such a case, of course, it will obviously do no harm to part with them. After all, the party is not strong only through its numbers but, above all, through the activity of Communists, party bodies, and organizations, through the power of its example, through how active it is among the people. Times demand not wavering, indifference, marking one's time, and passivity, but rather militancy and commitment. [passage omitted]

## Schuerer, Silayev Discuss High-Tech Cooperation

*AU1704102889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Apr 89 p 2*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet side of the Joint Government Commission, stayed in Berlin on Wednesday [12 April], at the invitation of Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR side of the GDR-USSR Joint Government Commission.

The chairmen discussed tasks in preparation for the next session of the Joint Government Commission.

In implementing the principled agreements, which were concluded at the working meeting between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in September 1988, measures of long-term cooperation in science and technology were the focus of the talk.

Gerhard Schuerer and Ivan Silayev mainly discussed possibilities to expand cooperation in the field of key technologies and the continuation of coordinating the national economic plans for the 1991-95 period. Subjects of the talk also were the deepening of production cooperation between the combines and enterprises of the GDR and the associations and enterprises of the USSR.

The measures are aimed at purposefully developing the capacity of the national economies of the two countries in line with the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress and to use the potentials of specialization and cooperation to an increasing extent.

Great attention was given to progressive forms of cooperation, such as direct relations between combines and enterprises.

During the talks further tasks of the mutual relations were discussed, including those to implement the concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR through the year 2000, which was signed in February 1989, and the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress of the CEMA member countries.

Participants in the meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere and in full concurrence of views, were, from the GDR side, Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics, and Helmut Dersch, state secretary in the Ministry of Heavy Machinery and Installation Construction; from the USSR side, Oleg Anfimov, minister of electrical equipment industry; Mikhail Shkabardnya, minister of instrument making, automation equipment, and control systems; and Vladimir Velichko, minister of heavy and transport machine building; and other public figures.

## Axen, Cuba's Risquet Hold Talks in Berlin

*LD1304202189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1738 GMT 13 Apr 89*

[Text] Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party [PCC], praised the changes for the better which have been introduced into the international situation. During a regular exchange of experiences and views in Berlin on Thursday, they underlined that the unilateral disarmament initiatives by the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist states represent an important prior concession.

As a result of the decisive action by the emerging coalition of reason and realism, it is now important not to permit any pause in the disarmament process, the two officials stressed. The circles of imperialism, which continue to bank on confrontation and blackmail in international relations, must be prevented from once again achieving the upper hand and torpedoing the encouraging results in the sphere of international detente.

With regard to SED-PCC cooperation, Hermann Axen and Jorge Risquet noted that in light of the breadth and range of the forms of socialist construction, special importance was attached to the comprehensive exchange of views and experiences. The annual cooperation plan between the two parties for 1989 was agreed upon.

## Lorenz Meets Cuba's Risquet

*LD1504050689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1718 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The total of almost 2,000 Cuban workers who live in the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk [area] are working successfully and in a friendly way with their GDR colleagues. This was stressed by SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo member Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of the SED Bezirk Executive for Karl-Marx-Stadt, on Friday in talks with Jorge Risquet Valdes, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, at Karl-Marx-Stadt. Lorenz said that like the other foreigners in the GDR, Cuban citizens also have the chance to take equal part in the local elections on 7 May.

The Cuban official, who is in the GDR at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, arrived Friday for a 2-day visit to Karl-Marx-Stadt. During the talks, Jorge Risque Valdes said that just like the GDR, Cuba has to assert its views and make its own way in tough arguments against imperialist disruptive maneuvers, ranging from economic blockade to diplomatic pressure and ideological diversion. Risquet's people, however, have good friends such as the GDR at their side. This bond also proved itself in the worldwide peace struggle, as was most recently visible in the disarmament initiative of the Warsaw Pact states.

### Grosz on 'Speculation' About MSZMP Split

*LD1404174989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] We have just learned the following: Karoly Grosz has said that limits must be drawn in the party, on the left and right alike, and that the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] must then part company with those who do not accept the party's electoral program.

The MSZMP general secretary was speaking in Budapest at the national meeting of town first secretaries.

Speaking in connection with speculation concerning a party split, he declared that a split is not in the interests of a party which conducts responsible politics, but also that maintaining unity at all costs could equally lead to disintegration.

Karoly Grosz also noted the fact that the Central Committee does not consider the convening of an extraordinary party congress or a membership review as being justified.

### Further on Party Currents

*LD1404230889 Budapest MTI in English 2055 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, April 14 (MTI)—'The international situation seems to assist advance in Hungary and the implementation of the reform policy. In the wake of the May party conference, there has been a change of opinion about Hungary within the socialist world. Changes in the Soviet Union have also expanded our range of action. If the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] does not become more decisive with measures which have proper consideration, it will appear as if the Hungarian leadership is not going ahead but drifting with the processes,' HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz said at the conference of first secretaries organized by the HSWP Central Committee in Budapest on Friday [14 April].

'Developed capitalist countries form their opinion about Hungary in terms of the stability of its internal policy. They highly appreciate political liberalization and progress in the field of human rights. But the fact that the Hungarian economy has not yet been able to renew itself gives rise to the opinion that the system itself is in crisis. This is why the capitalist world is getting a negative image of Hungary and socialism,' Mr Grosz pointed out, adding 'we can count on no one else but ourselves in overcoming the difficulties.'

About our economic situation he said:

'Owing to the poor financial balance of the country, top priority must be given to the control of inflation and the wage spiral, and the solvency of the country.

On the HSWP, Mr Grosz said:

'There is a tendency to introversion within the movement, characterized by poor political propaganda and little readiness for debate. As current organizational rules are no longer capable of providing the foundation for the process of transformation, a set of provisional rules should be drafted as soon as possible.

On rumours of a party split he claimed: 'It is not in the interest of a party that aims to act in a responsible way to seek a split, yet the maintenance of unity at any cost could also lead to split.

Mr Grosz expressed his conviction that there should be a limit on the left and right, and people who do not accept the HSWP's election manifesto as the basis of the ideological platform, will have to resign from the party. He concluded by saying the Central Committee does not consider there is any reason for the convention of an extraordinary party congress and membership revision.

### Grosz on Upcoming Kecskemet Party 'Workshop'

*LD1304131389 Budapest MTI in English 1201 GMT 13 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 13 (MTI)—In an interview carried by Thursday's [13 April] "NEPSZABADSAG", HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz said that the report presented at the latest session of the Central Committee took the views of party members into account. The Political Committee [PC], for instance, was sharply criticised because members had their own political lines. A feeling emerged in the movement that there were various political endeavours within the party which were also manifest in the Political Committee. The feeling has some justification because both the Political Committee and the Central Committee are varied. As I do not expect it to change, we have to get used to the situation, said Karoly Grosz.

It is a justified demand that the various personalities should be more disciplined in coordinating speeches and endeavours with the general political line of the party or make it more obvious that the differences are not of a principled or fundamental nature, but manifest themselves in partial or not yet mature issues, and are possibly differences of personality.

Many people are afraid that the HSWP will be divided. Some forces would exclude the so-called conservatives from the party, and others the reform wing, the reporter remarked.

In reply, Mr Grosz said: I do not know any reform wing and any conservative wing within the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. I know people more daring in social and economic reforms or more cautious or attached to a larger extent to the reality of the past.

This party is advancing with the process of reforms it launched in the areas of social policy and economy, and the idealogical-cultural sphere.

Concerning variedness, the general secretary said:

I would not hold it expedient for the reform clubs to become independent organizations because it would break up the party's organizational unity.

According to Mr Grosz, the workshop convened for Saturday in Kecskemet does not imply a break in the HSWP, but on the contrary, it is a forum of the intellectual unity and political renewal of the party. The workshop was organized by Imre Pozsgay, with the support of the political leadership, and is to be attended by a number of PC members. After the keynote speeches by Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers, participants will discuss the manifesto to be elaborated for next year's party congress. In conclusion, Mr Grosz emphasized: We have no reason for any anxiety.

### Grosz To Depart on Bulgarian Visit 16 Apr

*LD1604171689 Budapest MTI in English 1633 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 16 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party], is to leave for Sofia today.

He is scheduled to meet Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, on Monday.

During the working visit, the politicians will inform each other about current events in their countries. The Bulgarian Communist Party follows with great interest the developments taking place in Hungary. The accelerating changes and the newness of the reform solutions applied raises concern and a certain amount of reservation among the Bulgarian partners.

When surveying bilateral relations, economic relations will be an important item on the agenda. Hungary feels it is mutually important to halt the present decrease in the exchange of goods. In addition, Hungary holds it necessary further to develop economic ties between the socialist countries, updating the present system of accounting and developing the system of the Warsaw Treaty. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party also considers the renewal of the current mechanism of varied cooperation to be imperative.

### Communique Issued on Central Committee Session

*LD1404185789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] At its session on 12 April, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee took a stand in favor of elaborating the party's election program. It also stated that the MSZMP wishes to take part in the political contest in the spirit of tolerance and that it is ready for every rational compromise. According to the published communique on the body's session, the MSZMP will set up an organizing committee for directing the election work.

In the debate on 12 April, the Central Committee also decided on elaborating the party's temporary organizational rules to end organizational confusion and to continue renewal. Members also believe that an analysis of the political, economic, and social processes of the past 1 and ½ decades must be carried out. Therefore, it may become clear what must be retained from this period's values and from what the MSZMP must dissociate itself concerning the mistakes of the earlier leadership.

Also, according to the communique issued on the Central Committee session, following the May 1988 party conference the MSZMP did not take part in shaping domestic policy commensurate with its strength and organizational weight. For the time being, methods for handling the differences of opinion within the party have not evolved, and confusion is apparent in the interpretation of the freedom platform that is being formed.

In spite of all this, the document states that deep-reaching changes have occurred in the work of the party's leading body, although, for example, Central Committee members do not take part in the political debates with equal activity. As far as the renewal of the personnel composition of the Politburo is concerned, the communique notes that within the body, solidarity and the collective spirit are weak, and that there is insufficient reciprocal information.

### Personnel Changes Approved

*LD1404212189 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 14 Apr 89*

["Communique of the Session of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party (HSWP) on April 12, 1989"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, April 14 (MTI)—General Secretary Karoly Grosz, head of the committee approved by a decision of the February 10-12 session of the Central Committee [CC] to study the status of the party and the activity of its leading bodies, presented a report to the Central Committee, which it acknowledged.

For a short period of time Janos Kadar, president of the party was present at the session of the Central Committee. He said his doctors did not recommend his participation in the work of the body because of poor health.

The communique points out:

Following wide-ranging studies, the committee prepared a summary of the political change of direction that took place at the national party conference last May, the

policy of reform, and the personnel changes within the leading bodies that met with the intentions of the party membership and the approval of the general public.

The working style of the party has entered a phase of renewal, and became more open with an increase in democracy and the spirit of discussion. A partnership is unfolding between the party and various political and social organizations.

However, consistent and progressive action did not immediately follow the party conference. As a result, the HSWP's participation in the formation of domestic policy was not in proportion to its real power and weight as an organization. The prevailing theoretical and practical uncertainties led to inertia. No methods have yet been worked out to handle disagreement within the party and there appears to be some confusion in the interpretation of the freedom of platforms. The party has also not taken a determined stand against extremist views questioning its legitimacy and policy of reform. All this contributed to a loss of confidence on the part of party branch organizations and a fall in membership numbers. An aggravating factor is that the economy is weak, and the country is facing enormous balance problems.

The leading bodies of the party and the party movement should provide greater support for the implementation of tasks set out for the government and the stemming of the economic crisis.

Despite far-reaching changes emerging in the work of the leading bodies, the opinion of the membership or the local branches is not taken into sufficient consideration. Members of the Central Committee do not take part in the political debate with the same intensity inspite of the fact that they should rely on active membership.

There is a pressing need for the creation of new unity in controversial issues which is indispensable to eliminate uncertainty and set the country and party on a course of political reliablity. The communique says an analysis of the political, economic and social pro cesses of the past one and a half decades should be carried out to pinpoint the values to be preserved and the mistakes the party should dissociate itself from.

On the basis of the action programme entitled "What Are the Goals of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party?" the party should work out its election programme. The HSWP is ready for all kinds of rational compromise in order to achieve its goals, and wishes to run for election in the spirit of mutual respect and tolerance. An organizing committee is to be set up to control the preparation for the elections.

A provisional set of organizational regulations is to be drafted to eliminate organizational problems and to continue with the renewal process.

The Central Committee also approved personnel changes. Its members now are Janos Barabas, secretary of the Budapest party committee, Andras Gabor, president of the Chamber of Economics, Kalman Gyuricsku, first secretary of the Szabolcs-Szatmar County party committee, Ferenc Karvalits, first secretary of the Zala County party committee, Peter Kiss, first secretary of the Budapest Committee of the Communist Youth Union, Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Csaba Lenkei, an electrician at the Salgotarjan plate glass factory, Laszlo Major, head of the HSWP CC Office, Ilona Maar, first secretary of the Dunamjvaros party committee, and Pal Vastagh, first secretary of the Csongrad County party committee.

Karoly Grosz was reelected general secretary of the party. Members of the Political Committee are Karoly Grosz, Csaba Hamori, Pal Ivanyi, Mihaly Jasso, Miklos Nemeth, Rezso Nyers, Imre Pozsgay, Ilona Tatai and Pal Vastagh.

The Central committee accepted the announcement that Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee, is to be nominated for the post of chairman of the Central Control Committee.

### Nemeth Interviewed on Party Split, Government

*LD1604233989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Interview with Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, from the studio of "The Week" program by an unidentified correspondent—live]

[Text] [Announcer] In the past week you have again witnessed unusual excitement in Hungarian domestic and party political life. On Wednesday [12 April] the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee met in session and changed the party's Politburo. The next day there was an extraordinary government session in which it was decided to again devalue the national currency. After that, the MSZMP's newly elected town secretaries met with General Secretary Karoly Grosz, and practically in parallel, although not rhyming, with this, a so-called reform workshop was held in Kecskmet, where, with Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers in the lead, the future of the political and economic reforms was discussed, for the most part in an intellectual environment. The idea of a party split was also examined there. I have to say that the Hungarian political leadership, not least of all the government, has been the subject of rather serious attacks at events and in the press. "The Week", television's weekend political magazine, will now try to contribute to clarifying this situation, with the most directly concerned figure.

[Correspondent] Our guest in the studio tonight is Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Mr Nemeth, it is you they are attacking, and I might even say from every quarter. They are also casting doubt on whether the government that you head is fit to lead this

country. I do not know if these accusations are just or unjust, but I have to ask your opinion about this. Also, I submit that in fact it has been seemingly smaller technical issues—such as the customs decree, such as the highway toll, and such as higher costs for medicine—which have given rise to anger, or opposition, by certain strata of society vis-a-vis the government. Politically mature and maturely articulating groups, on the opposition side, translate this to mean that this government is not fit to lead, and that if this government remains in office, then an economic collapse—quite an apocalyptic concept, is it not?—will be unavoidable. I would like to hear your opinion on this.

[Nemeth] Well, I also see and realize that the government is being attacked in various ways. Most recently today's stand by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] declares that there would be a need for an acting government comprised of experts. It also declares that there is a need for a government in which the MSZMP is not present, but rather that one of the ministers of state should lead it...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Who, coincidentally, are members of the MSZMP Politburo.

[Nemeth] I would like to emphasize that both ministers of state are present in the government; both ministers of state took part in the decisions that the government recently brought up, such as in the examples you mentioned. I do not believe that the situation in which this country finds itself can be resolved merely by simple personnel changes. I am ready to say that the government which I lead, in a significant reorganization—including the head of government as well—should return its mandate and should ask the legislature about the possibility of electing a new government. But the reality of this, and the idea that this government, professionally, in disregarding smaller faults, would as a whole be unfit for leadership—this idea I dispute and reject.

The situation in which this government assumed the direction of the economy and politics, of society—this gives more than food for thought. On the one hand, it is a society that has lost its confidence, a party that has lost its confidence, which are present in our everyday life. And this is the product not of 1 or 2 years but rather of several decades. As a consequence of this, this government has to be able to handle such a grave inheritance, which requires very great circumspection and responsibility. It requires responsibility from the head of government; it requires responsibility from the ministers of state, and from all those who are struggling, or wondering, how to improve the country's fate.

I believe that this government has indeed made smaller and bigger mistakes in the past 5 months. However, in its entirety it has governed with a sense of responsibility aimed at lifting the country out of the deadlock. Maybe this was not completely successful; this can be debated. But to allege that this government as whole is not fit to handle the problems—I do not agree with that. There are persons who, if you like, did not come up to scale, and an appropriate unity of approach and outlook with which this country or government could be improved, with which administrative work could be improved, is lacking. These are conclusions which I have reached in the recent past, and at the May session of the parliament I will motion that I be given authority and the possibility of making a significant government reshuffle.

[Correspondent] What do you expect of the new people? What is it that will distinguish them from their predecessors? This is regardless of the fact that I agree with you that a change of places, a change of personnel, and a change of leaders will not really solve anything. In other words, that it will not bring about a fundamental change.

[Nemeth] Yes. I believe that we must continue on the radical path of separating the party from the state.

[Correspondent] What do you mean by that?

[Nemeth] By this I mean, for example, that the party's leading bodies should deal only with long-term strategic issues, with determining the direction; they should not decide, or should not commit themselves, on issues which are the government's exclusive responsibility.

[Correspondent] Can you give some examples of these?

[Nemeth] There has been some movement in this recently, but there is no doubt that it is not yet sufficiently marked and sufficiently significant. Well, for example, I think it is very right that the party should debate agrarian policy, distribution policy, health policy, social policy, and so on. But these stands should be concentrated only on very principled elements and on the main elements of strategy. Working out the concrete decisions and the concrete details is the administration's responsibility. Or take the ways and means of maintaining ties with the international financial organizations. Over a long period, over many years, it has worked out that this is an area for a narrow cabinet or a narrow circle...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Of the party and government.

[Nemeth] Of the party and the government. I do not think it is correct if the party, for example, participates in this and if it influences this with its various stands. On the other hand, however, I also consider it very bad if among the administration it is the privilege of only a few people to conclude agreements, prior agreements, excluding government members whose job is to carry out tasks. That is why we decided to place the system of maintaining ties with international financial organizations as a whole on a new basis, and to conceive them more democratically and openly in the future. For example, we have already worked this out in our ties with the parliament; the directives of the discussions with the

International Monetary Fund should be known not just by the head of government, not just by the narrow body entrusted with them, but also by the entire Council of Ministers itself; it should adopt the directives and then it should also discuss the conclusions of the talks.

[Correspondent] You are fairly decisive, and sometimes even passionate, in the way you express things.

[Nemeth] I do not think I am passionate. Rather, I would like to use the situation to formulate in a marked way those demands which I believe are necessary for the government's unity and determination to strengthen in the future.

[Correspondent] So, you do not at all wish to not be able to avail yourself of your mandate, of your authority; that the party's leading bodies should impede you, as the head of government, in developing your own political judgment?

[Nemeth] I would not like to get into such a situation. What I would like is for the preparatory work to take place under parliament's supervision, before parliament and society, be it in connection with the presentation of the short-term tasks and the outlining of the situation, or in the course of compiling the longer-term programs. I believe that only by cooperating with society, after hearing the opinions of the various forces in society, of the groups expressing various interests, can a program or a plan of tasks be formulated which those forces capable of action can get behind and support.

[Correspondent] Nevertheless, you could have a problem with parliament. You alluded to it here many times. By way of example, and this is a very topical issue—I imagine it also figured on the agenda of the government sessions—for today there are proposals for parliament, on the issues of confidence or no confidence, to have the right, for example, to declare no confidence not only vis-a-vis yourself—the head of government, which as a matter of fact means the entire government—but, let us say, to announce a motion of no confidence vis-a-vis individual ministers due to technical mistakes—I deliberately term them technical errors—such as have recently occurred. This would simply not only tie, but in my opinion would paralyze your hands, if your ministers were being put out of action alongside you.

[Nemeth] Well, the draft bill does indeed contain such a possibility, that a motion of no confidence could be submitted not only vis-a-vis the government, but also separately against individual ministers. I am convinced that this would not aid the administration's effectiveness or its ability to function. If I take as my starting point that a minister submits to the legislature not his independent proposal, but his proposal confirmed by the Council of Ministers, then it is not expedient to speak about the responsibility of a given minister, or to be more precise about the submission of a motion of no confidence against the minister. It would then be expedient to see the situation clearly. If the legislature does not like a certain government motion, then it should express this through submitting a motion of no confidence against the entire government.

[Correspondent] You emphasize that it should speak about the government as a whole. In other words, you intend to accept responsibility even for technical and other kind of mistakes, if you have at one time allowed these to cross your desk.

[Nemeth] Well, what I can say is that in such a situation as the one we have inherited—we do not yet exactly know the details of this inheritance—I would not like to give the the impression that we do not know what situation the country is in; we know this precisely. But I would like to add that in such a changing world as the one in which we live, and it is under these circumstances that the government has to formulate—in addition to the daily tasks—the elements of a long-term strategy. And to deal with those issues which relate to the future. It cannot be avoided that mistakes will not slip into the decisions. [sentence as heard]

The mistakes are nourished from many directions. One of the reasons is that in Hungary today the government is still much more of an agglomerate, a formation made up of departments and representing various interests. No body exists which expresses all-governmental, all-economic, or all-societal tasks and interests. This can be helped, in my view, by changing the government's work-style, work method, and by shaping the government's personnel composition. My view is that what would point forward would be the composition of a government which would agree on short-term and long-term tasks; for this it—the head of government, let us say—would select people who would be suited to represent this policy, who would take this on and who would carry it through thick or thin.

Now, when I say they would carry it through, naturally this would contain, and also to this would belong, such decisions with which certain interest-groups, the various strata of society, will not agree. But I would like to emphasize that in my view there is no unfolding, no such movement away from this crisis—a crisis which is political, economic, and I add, also moral—that would please everyone and gain everyone's support. We the government must be able to shape a reform program and a reform center which will gain, in part, the support of those forces of the party which desire renewal. But this in itself is not enough. It must also have the agreement and support of those strata of society which are capable of action. And in this sense the most important task of the near future is to outline the formation of a new common agreement, a new consensus. We have started this work, with the shaping of a new government strategy...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Five months ago.

[Nemeth] We started it 5 months ago. It is unfolding nice and slowly. We are preparing materials from various scientific and advistory bodies and reform committees, and we intend to integrate them. We would like to have these debated, to have them noted also by the various alternative forces that are today growing stronger in society. We would like to attain a compromise not only on partial issues, but also in the acceptance of the situation, in determining the path that would lead out of the situation.

[Correspondent] It seems to me that you will not receive very much patience to do this.

[Nemeth] There is no patience on the part of society, because in part we have a loss of confidence by both the party and the government. This loss of confidence is the consequence of several decades of omissions, of grave, faulty decisions. And when people see that the government is taking further restrictive measures—medicines, highway tolls, or recently I could mention the customs decree—then what they see, and the way they interpret these measures, is that they represent the continuation of the old course, and they do not demonstrate the possibility of a breakthrough.

[Correspondent] Yes, because what they sense in it is that the administration needs money and that it would like to have pretexts for this.

[Nemeth] The government does indeed need money because of the debt that has piled up in the past decades; the interest burden, to mention only this, last year and this year amounts to $1.2-1.3 billion. If we convert this into forints, we see that here it is a question of 60 billion, some 60 billion forints. This money has to be taken out of the economy, away from the population or society, in such a way that in the meantime they do not feel anything; we do not give anything on the other side. But this is a burden to the country. And we have to accept this burden in order to maintain our solvency.

[Correspondent] Can you set before the public an objective so that it would see some sense in making the sacrifice? Let me be frank, and this is not really just my own idea: In transforming the economic structure, there should be a decisive turnabout, cost what it may. After all, on the eve of World War II Churchill promised the British nation blood, sweat, and tears, but they knew why. The big question is that you as head of government should be able to say to the people: for this and for that reason. You should also be able to give deadlines.

[Nemeth] I do not like to give deadlines; the time for prophecies is over. Short-term promises can boomerang; they lead to a further loss of confidence. To give no other example than this one, take the international passport, which was a very positive step. But those who decided this at the time did not think through all its details and consequences. When the government now uses economic tools to take measures in the interest of a salvageable situation—such as when it restricts, but at the same time also liberalizes, a customs decree—then society rises up against this, because this measure is seen as the continuation of an old practice.

[Correspondent] Namely—forgive me, and do correct me if I get this wrong—that the standard of living has to be improved, if necessary—if not necessary, but it is generally necessary—from foreign sources. In other words, to take out loans in order to improve the standard of living, so that people have the impression that the standard of living is improving here. However, our grandchildren will foot the bill.

[Nemeth] Yes. It is with the interpretation of political stability that there has been—and to a certain degree even today there is—a problem here. In other words, in the interest of peace...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Of social peace.

[Nemeth] That in the interest of social peace we not harm anyone's interests, that everyone will be better off as a result of a social measure, and that in the interest of confidence we close the gaps with the use of the foreign resources that you also mentioned. Well, it was this, this concept and political practice, which led to the country becoming gravely indebted. And now the debt problem is gradually becoming self-driving. To handle this, to break out of this situation, is possible only by proclaiming a very radical, decisive reform program, but I add also by implementing it as quickly as possible.

[Correspondent] Tell me please, do you have the determination for this radicalism? And I would also ask if you possess the ruthlessness, with a view also to the social burdens arising from this, which will be very difficult to bear. But I will say honestly, I have gained experience in the world to know that sometimes even ruthlessness pays off precisely in the interest of attaining long-term objectives.

[Nemeth] To be ruthless in itself is not enough. On the other hand, it is the basic duty of this government to be decisive in undertaking and implementing this program. I am convinced that the determination to do this exists, and also concerning the formation of the program that we will submit to parliament in June.

[Correspondent] First and foremost, it is a question here of plugging the leaks, is it not?

[Nemeth] Eliminating and plugging the leaks on the one hand and, on the other, giving people hope for a breakthrough.

[Correspondent] Individually or collectively?

[Nemeth] Both individually and collectively. I feel that for this, on the one hand, the new company law has ensured an adequate framework; but for this framework

to be filled with a content, we must as quickly as possible formulate concrete solutions and methods of reforming ownership and put these onto parliament's table. By this I mean, first and foremost, that the flow of capital in society should take place according to the demands of rationality and effectiveness. This requires institutionalized financial conditions.

[Correspondent] Which you will create?

[Nemeth] Which we would like to create in 2-3 years. I already have promised something by saying 2-3 years. First of all, therefore, and it is to this that I wished to allude, it is the sources which have to be set onto a sure footing, so that the issues of production, the issues of income-producing capacity, should come to the fore as soon as possible. This is because only from a growing producing sum and income will we be able to satisfy three goals: There should be resources at our disposal for restructuring the economy; we should also satisfy our political and economic interest and solvency—in other words, we should be able to meet amortization on interest payments; and third, those who produce and who perform better should receive income. In other words, a social and income policy is also a very important demand. It is not enough if we sketch for the people an authentic situation.

I am convinced that apart from sketching an authentic situation, we must also be able to determine the directions and points of breakthrough. This will not be an easy task, and not all our solutions will please everybody. But I believe that we must break radically with this concept of monolithic stability, whereby we sacrifice everything in the interest of social peace so that there is calm and peace in the country. We can see where this path has led, and there is also no calm or peace in the country.

[Correspondent] You desire social peace, but it seems that the government also has a program which does not necessarily place it in view to maintain social peace at any price. I believe that you agree with this, that this is your philosophy.

[Nemeth] Now then, it is true that there have been measures in the past period which have met with society's displeasure. You were alluding to these, evidently. I think that in the future we will have to avoid those decisions which do not adequately gauge society's reception or its mood in advance. I add, however, that the breakthrough in a grave situation is not simply an issue of mood and judgment. The government must be determined and firm. In other words, it has to assert certain decisions even when it knows that it will harm very serious interests with these decisions. It is not a matter of indifference, however, whether it allows these interest violations to gain expression; whether it allows the countermeasures—countermeasures in the sense of counter-balancing measures—to be taken; or whether it proclaims them to be an eternal sentence, once and for all.

Now, as for medicine, I would like to be concrete, and we have seen an interview about this. In Hungary, medicines, as commonly known, enjoy a very considerable subsidy, from political and social-political, or, if you like, from welfare-political considerations. We know, too, that in the meantime there was a need for very considerable subsidies, by virtue of which there is waste in the trade of medicines and in the supply of medicine. These amount to billions [currency not specified]. I will not go into the reasons for the waste now, because this would lead and extend from the hospitals right through to the prescription of medicines by doctors. I will not discuss these here. On the other hand, that certain unfortunate circumstances were also present in connection with the introduction of the decree on medicines—such as the time of the influenza epidemic—does not detract from the criticism the government received in this regard. It is true that we have been working in mid-course as well on modifying measures—and these have come into force in the recent past—which ease the anomalies. I am convinced, however, that in this area as well, that is to say in the supply and circulation of medicines, the basic direction is correct: namely, that the recognition of the costs in the prices, and on the other hand the elimination of waste, are in the county'rs basic political and economic interest. It is certain that adjustments will be needed; the government has started investigations into this, and we will be ready to continue these in the future. Apart from the correctness of the basic direction, perhaps we did not examine the multifariousness of concrete solutions sufficiently circumspectly, but in any event, we will be ready to do this in the future.

Now, as for the customs decree, when this international passport was introduced, those who at the time decided to do this did not consider all its consequences.

[Correspondent] Yes, we have already spoken about that.

[Nemeth] I have spoken about it. In our present situation, however, we had to choose whether to allow this trend, which has been asserted as a matter of fact right from the time of its introduction until now, and thereby jeopardize the country's currency balance, its foreign currency balance, its capitalist goods exchange and payments balance; or whether we should intervene with economic methods. We chose the latter. We were forced to take this step. But I should add that the circumstances of its introduction and its scheduling were atrocious. From this I have to arrive at certain conclusions. I would for this reason like to make these conclusions open, too. When I speak in parliament about the government reorganization, the assertion of ministerial independence and responsibility is, on the one hand, a correct

endeavor. On the other hand, this is only true, and it will be successful only when cooperation between the partners becomes much greater than it is today.

[Correspondent] In the matter of the highway toll, I think that the cooperation was glaringly poor with the various...

[Nemeth, interrupting] In the matter of the highway toll the government's decision was forced. Our decision was motivated by the fact that we would have liked, and we would like it today as well, for an appropriate amount of money to have been at our disposal for improving roads and for building new roads. These funds do not exist in this difficult situation. The measure was therefore motivated on the one hand by our need to have access to the funds, and to spend this money on these things. On the other hand, there is the view that we should get some sort of money from tourists and our citizens who use our roads. I believe this is a decision that needs to be reexamined. In its present state it appears that many things are being examined, for example the postponement of the date of introduction, daily tickets, and the introduction of a shorter-term toll. I do not exclude the possibility, either, that at the next government session we will take this issue off the agenda once and for all.

[Correspondent] The essential point is that those of you in the government want to get money from the people. That is pure (?ransom).

[Nemeth] Well, yes, if by population we mean those who have cars.

[Correspondent] Will those of you in the government give guarantees that the amounts flowing in from here will indeed be spent on road construction and maintenance? You know that public opinion is suspicious. It is suspicious that everything goes into the big hat, and then...

[Nemeth, interrupting] Public opinion has every ground for this, because at the time of the last increase in gasoline prices as well, the government at that time gave the philosophy and explanation that the prices were being increased because the funds would be used to create a road fund.

[Correspondent] They did not create it.

[Nemeth] They did not create it. Need and necessity took away the money for other purposes. I do not dispute the correctness of those other purposes. On such a basis and with such a background it is no good for this government to say that this money will certainly go toward a road fund, that we will certainly build and repair roads. Public opinion no longer believes us. I think that we have to find the resources, to find the resources for the basic tasks. In other words, we will have to avoid the bigger damage and loss; in other words, we will have to avoid stopping road construction and stopping road repairs. As for how we will find the way to do this, that will be the task of the coming weeks; but we will find a way. At the same time, seeing such large- scale outrage, and such great protest and opposition, the government will have to think about this measure. I believe that it will think about it, and if necessary, if the results of the reexamination lead to this, then we will withdraw the decision.

[Correspondent] Miklos Nemeth, I do not envy you for these problems. I do not envy you for the inheritance, either, to which you alluded a good number of times in this conversation. With this, you will obviously permit me to wish you good health and strength for the work that you have undertaken, and to thank you for this conversation.

[Nemeth] Thank you.

## New Politburo Member Vastagh Interviewed

*LD1304134289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 13 Apr 89*

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] One of the new members of the Politburo is Pal Vastagh, who is 43 years old. He has been an MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] member since 1966, and since 11 December 1988 he has been the first secretary of the Csongrad County party committee. Prior to that he was the dean of the Attila Jozsef Scientific University, and he is still teaching there. How can someone who in his present job has been virtually unable to prove himself become a Politburo member? Since 11 December there was just sufficient time for the Csonrad County party committee to rehabilitate the editors of TISZATAJ, this also meant, did it not, that you have dissociated yourselves from a given political course? Or was it precisely this which has given you a brownie point, indeed the ticket of admission into the Politburo?

[Vastagh] What you are saying is, on the face of it, a perfectly logical argument. This committee, which has prepared the nomination, has spoken to every Central Committee member and to the members of the executive committees of the county party committees, and as far as I know, I have been proposed by several places and in the course of several discussions.

[Presenter] When did these discussions begin?

[Vastagh] At the start of March, for it was at the 1,014th, 10-11 February Central Committee session that the body decided to commission this working committee. Of course, during this period not only the rehabilitation of TISZATAJ took place in Csongrad County. Perhaps it will not appear immodest for me to say that the political public life in the county has also stabilized. Perhaps this was the basis for drawing the conclusions strengthening the proposals [for my nomination].

[Presenter] In the past months, the Csongrad party committee leadership has been changed. How large a role have you played in this, and if you did have a role, what influence did it have on the fact that the MSZMP has first coopted you via the Central Committee then elected you as a Politburo member?

[Vastagh] Well, as for the change of the Csongrad party committee leadership, I personally had no role in that. It was those who forced the Csongrad County party conference to be held who had a role in this. As for the concrete implementation of the change, it was those who voted in support of changes at the county party conference, i.e. the delegates of the county party conference, who had a role. This trust has obviously strengthened my position.

[Presenter] Whose platform do you share? Whose approach do you accept among the members of the present leadership?

[Vastagh] I would not, under any circumstances, link my support to persons, but rather to aims and operational modes. First of all, I consider it important, valuable, and something which gives direction that the Politburo as well as the Central Committee should be capable of assisting the transition in Hungarian society.

[Presenter] By the way, without your saying which platform you belong to... [changes thought] It is well known that it was precisely the reform wing, or reform platform, in Csongrad County which got you in the executive committee and elected you first secretary of the county party committee. Therefore, it appears that you are a reform-platform man.

[Vastagh] I am a supporter of the resoluteness of the party, if it can be put this way, and its being changed determinedly to suit these present relations.

### Alliance of Free Democrats Holds Assembly

*LD1604125189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] is, after a few weeks, continuing its general assembly and according to indications with its very ambitious ideas. Peter Marvanyi reports:

[Marvanyi] On the basis of the events of the past weeks and months, one of the SZDSZ statements declared the government unsuitable for the formulation and implementation of rational measures. In the interests of avoiding an economic collapse, the Alliance proposed the formation of a government of experts, under the leadership of one of the present ministers of state. The government of experts would deal mainly with the economic and social crisis in the year remaining until the elections, without constitutionalization. The starting point of its program would be stopping the construction of the Nagymaros project. Its members, with the exception of the defense and foreign ministers, would not be members of the leading bodies of parties or political movements, but rather recognized experts.

Another statement accepted by the general assembly deals with the relation of the country to the Warsaw Pact Organization, and says that this is a political reality and that its complete termination can only be envisaged within the framework of an international settling of affairs. Until then, the leading bodies of the Warsaw Pact should declare that the alliance has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the member states, declares the statement from the SZDSZ general assembly.

A third document accepted today initiates the freezing of the assets of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party section organization and the appointment of an organization to handle these assets.

The Alliance also accepted the letter that deals with Eastern European nationality questions; it greeted the letter written by the six former Romanian leaders and expressed solidarity with Ms Cornea. It also greeted the first independent Gypsy organization, which was founded yesterday.

The final acceptance of the program of the Free Democrats is currently underway. The general assembly already inserted thoughts on responsible Magyardom into the document, and the refining of the conception of the construction is underway. Still to come is the economic program, which in its new version places even greater emphasis on privatization.

### Seizure of Party Assets Proposed

*LD1604205789 Budapest MTI in English 1914 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 16 (MTI)—'The delay in the structural transformation of the economy is worrying,' said writer Istvan Eorsi, at the session of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) in Budapest on Sunday [16 April], held to finalize the manifesto of the Alliance. According to Mr Eorsi, the chief objective of the manifesto is to reconcile realpolitik with morale.

The next item on the agenda was the passing of three statements. The first proposed the setting up of a government of specialists, since the conditions for bringing closer the date of the elections and the foundation of a coalition government have not been given. At the same time, the government's current measures indicate that it has lost self-confidence and cannot fulfil its functions. Therefore, they suggest that, for the year before the elections, a government of experts, to be headed by one of the present ministers of state, should be set up through negotiations between the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the opposition roundtable. The

membership of the government should not include any members of the HSWP or the independent organizations, except for the posts of minister of foreign affairs and defence.

The second statement is called "Hungary's place within the alliance system". Here, the SZDSZ calls for the neutrality of Hungary. It acknowledges the reality, however, that Hungary, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, cannot carryout a unilateral withdrawal. This could be achieved only via international talks. The document suggests that Hungary should obtain a statement from the Warsaw Treaty proclaiming that the alliance has no right to interfere with the domestic affairs of its member countries. They also recommend for Hungary to propose the rejection of the Brezhnev doctrine.

The third statement calls for the immediate seizure of the real estate and properties of the HSWP, the Communist Youth Union and other similar social organizations. The holiday resorts and educational facilities released in the process should be put to serve educational purposes. And as the Patriotic People's Front is to lose its current function under the multi-party system, its facilities should be rented out to independent organizations.

At the general assembly of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), Miklos Tamas Gaspar read out a position expressing anxiety about the egotistic nationalism spreading in Eastern Europe.

The document welcomes, and pledges solidarity with, the six Romanian leaders who have attacked the Ceausescu regime in an open letter, as well as Doina Cornea, the teacher fighting for the cause of human rights in Romania.

The position also expresses anxiety at the deteriorating situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, and that the amendment of the Constitution in Serbia would jeopardize the autonomy of the Hungarians living in Vajdasag.

The session also supports the cause of the organization of the Gypsy minority. The document emphasizes that the SZDSZ rejects chauvinism and racial hatred home and abroad alike.

The general assembly approved the 80-page draft of the manifesto of the SZDSZ.

Gyorgy Szabad, one of the leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, greeted the participants of the assembly on behalf of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. He pointed out the readiness of the two organizations to cooperate, which contributed to the foundation of the opposition roundtable.

Balint Magyar, official in charge of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), stated that the most important task of the opposition roundtable conference would be the formulation of the political regulations for the forthcoming elections to be held next year.

They consider it their aim for the roundtable to obtain rights to participate in the drafting of the bill. In their view, the dialogue between the HSWP and its allied organizations and the opposition roundtable could provide possibilities to this end.

In conclusion, participants in the discussions adopted the programme of political transition, and subsequently the programme thesis on election rights. In conformity with this, they proposed that parliament should consist of 400 MPs. Three hundred of the MPs would be elected in their own constituencies, while the other 100 places would be decided upon in competition between the parties.

The proposal was accepted by the majority of the participants.

## People's Patriotic Front Elects New Presidium

*LD1404161689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] With constitutional lawyer Istvan Kukorelli at its head, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front has elected a new acting presidium. This presidium will deal with affairs instead of the Secretariat until the October congress. The National Council elected Istvan Huszar to the combined post of president and general secretary.

## National Assembly To Convene 10 May

*LD1504005589 Budapest MTI in English 1446 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian National Assembly has been convened for Wednesday, May 10, 1989, at 10 a.m.

The agenda is expected to include:

"A bill on supplementing the Constitution with a no-confidence motion and vote of confidence, and amending the parliamentary regulations accordingly,

"A bill on amending the Law III, 1973, regulating the legal status and responsibilities of the members of the Council of Ministers and state secretaries,

"A bill on the amendment of the civil code,

"AOB" [any other business].

### Szuros, Berecz Receive Visiting U.S. Democrats

*LD1404231989 Budapest MTI in English 2222 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Budapest, April 14 (MTI)—Headed by Steny Hoyer, Democratic Party representative, a delegation of the commission for the European security and cooperation conference of the U.S. Congress, arrived in Budapest on Friday [14 April]. The five-strong delegation of Democratic legislators is to attend the Budapest meeting of the Raoul Wallenberg Human Rights General Assembly.

Friday the delegation met Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly in parliament. Mark Palmer, U.S. ambassador to Hungary, was also present.

In the course of the informal exchange of view, the speaker briefed the delegation on the major developments of Hungary's domestic policy. He told the American legislators that Hungary was facing transition from one-party system to a multi-party system. The major requiremetns of the transition period include preservation of political and economic stability. This purpose is served by a dialogue between various organizations and responsible groups. The speaker of parliament expressed the hope that after far-reaching discussions, with consideration of the interests of the entire nation, social dialogue will bring about consensus.

Answering the questions of the U.S. legislators Matyas Szuros said the new parties emerging in Hungarian political life built on pluralism will be free to draft their own platforms and may even follow bourgeois democratic lines. The only requirement will be compliance with the Constitution.

Hungary's goal is to bring about a democracy which cannot be qualified. The profound social transformation is expected to create an independent, democratic, free and socialist Hungary in line with the specific circumstances from a deep social transformation.

The delegation put the question to Matyas Szuros how the United States could contribute to the success of the Hungarian reform endeavours. The speaker of parliament said the most important would be for them to understand the historical importance of Hungary's effort and give support. Hungary would, for example, welcome capital investments by American entrepreneurs in Hungary and encourage the foundation of joint ventures. "We would like the United States to grant the most favoured nation's status to Hungary," Mr Szuros said.

On the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, Mr Szuros recalled that the partial pulling out of troops was to begin in April. Total withdrawal will depend on European cooperation. Hungary would support the urgent elimination of the two opposing military blocs and would welcome the fact if the process was completed before the turn of the millenium.

The delegation met with Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, who informed them on the preparation of the new constitution.

They also met Janos Berecz, secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee, in the CC [Central Committee] Headquarters. The parties discussed the political and economic conditions of the Hungarian changes, as well as the schedule of the process in which Hungary becomes a socialist constitutional state. The secretary of the Central Committee discussed the major trends within the HSWP and its policy towards alternative organizations, the emerging political groupings and the already existing parties. He stressed the decision of the February session of the Central Committee on the transition to a multi-party system was not a tactical step, but a long-term commitment.

### Leaders Reply to Soviet Congratulations

*AU1104135789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Apr 89 p 4*

["Hungarian and Soviet Leaders Exchange Telegrams of Congratulation"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Karoly Grosz, Bruno F. Straub, and Miklos Nemeth thanked CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for the greetings that they sent the Hungarian leaders.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the Presidential Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, we thank you for the greetings and good wishes you have sent on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of Hungary's liberation.

On this day, we pay tribute to the memory of the Soviet heroes who gave their lives for Hungary's freedom, and we greet the Soviet peoples with feelings of friendship.

Today Hungary has come to an important crossroads in its post-liberation history. The energy and determination of the years following 1945 provide an example and strength to the present generation. Based on the values of Hungarian history, we seek to create a modern and humane socialist society that functions efficiently. The fact that we are searching for ways of renewing the socialist social order in basically the same way as is the Soviet restructuring policy provides a favorable international background for the consistent implementation of our efforts.

In the course of the more than 4 past decades, a system of relations that covers all areas of life has emerged, a system that binds our two countries, peoples, and parties with thousands of ties of cooperation. The alliance with the Soviet Union and the dynamic development of

relations based on equality and mutual advantage are elements of fundamental importance to Hungary. We are interested in modernizing our relations by eliminating all the burdens of the past.

Our party and the Hungarian people are following with great sympathy and confidence the activity of the Soviet Union aimed at exploiting the potentials of the socialist system and developing its humane character, and at increasing the welfare of the Soviet people. We support the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, and we accept an active role in promoting the favorable trends that are emerging in international life and in making these trends irreversible.

We wholeheartedly wish you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Council of Ministers, and the peoples of the Soviet Union further successes in the policy of restructuring and on the road of renewing the socialist social system.

### Solidarity Union Registered in Warsaw Court

*LD1704104289 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1016 GMT 17 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 17—The voivodship (provincial) court in Warsaw today issued a decision today to register the independent, self-governing trade union "Solidarity."

## PZPR Hears Jaruzelski, Adopts Resolutions

### PAP Announces Meeting

*LD1404191289 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1608 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 14—The PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] will hold its 12th plenary meeting here tomorrow to adopt materials and documents prepared for the national conference of PUWP delegates, to take place on May 4 and 5. The plenary meeting will also discuss PUWP preparations for an electoral campaign to the Sejm and to the Senate.

### Spokesman Outlines Agenda

*LD1404191889 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1605 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 14—"Tomorrow's 12th PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] plenum will be devoted to approval of basic documents which are being prepared for the national conference of PUWP delegates. It will also considerably influence the party's preparations for the election campaign to the Sejm and the Senate," PUWP CC Spokesman Jan Bisztyga told the "EXPRESS WIECZORNY" daily in an interview published today.

"The drafts of those documents, that is the texts of resolutions concerning: the implementation of the resolution of the 10th PUWP Congress, the outbreak of World War II, the removal of the remnants of Stalinism in Poland, and the party's participation in the coming elections were delivered to Central Committee members, so there is no need to present introductory reports which were so characteristic of the past, so frequently celebratory CC sittings," Bisztyga said.

"At the 12th plenum a short report on the results of the round-table debates will be presented by Stanislaw Ciosek while Zygmunt Czarzasty will brief the committee on the preparations for the conference. Then a working discussion will take place and the adoption of the mentioned documents. One should expect that CC members will express support for the democratic changes which are under way in the state and the party, including the round-table decisions," the spokesman disclosed.

### Jaruzelski, Others Speak

*LD1504193889 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1758 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 15: The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) held its 12th plenary meeting here today. Opening the debate, PUWP CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said:

Our meeting today was preceded by information and consultation meetings. Reports and draft resolutions proposed for the national conference of PUWP delegates were also distributed among our comrades.

The aim of this CC meeting is adopt final decisions connected to the organisation and programme of the conference, approval of reports and draft resolutions.

The nationwide conference of delegates will work in a still complicated situation connected, first of all, with the pressure of problems which are unusually difficult and hard to overcome by our economy in a short time, with the painful road of its reforming.

These problems will remain an important factor shaping public attitudes, the attitudes of various groups of electorate. We must especially keep this in mind during the electoral campaign.

When closing one and opening another stage of development, we face all the challenges involved. This determines the angle of looking at the tasks of the national conference of PUWP delegates. It must become an unusually important element of the electoral campaign by consolidating the party ranks and focusing them around the programme for offensive future-oriented activities.

Our party goes into this campaign as an initiator and promoter of the reforms, advocate of the national agreement and, at the same time, guarantor of the socialist systemic order, stability, internal and external security of the state.

During today's plenary meeting of the CC we should develop a general concept of party participation in the electoral campaign, define tasks of party members and organisations, indicate the directions for coalition cooperation and the plane at which to reach all the patriotic forces, groups, and individuals that want, just like we do—although often from different premises—the consolidation of the Polish People's Republic, the success of the nation.

Next, according to the adopted agenda, CC Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty spoke about the tasks of the party in the electoral campaign to the Sejm and Senate, and the state of preparations for the national conference of PUWP delegates.

Three discussants had suggestions to make about this speech. After that, member of the CC Secretariat Boguslaw Kolodziejczak presented the proposed preparatory materials for the national conference of delegates: reports on the implementation of the 10th PUWP Congress resolution "for the growth of efficiency of management and improvement of living conditions, for expansion of socialist democracy, for strengthening of Poland's international position" and information on the work of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, and the PUWP CC task commissions in the period between the 10th PUWP Congress and March 31, 1989.

The Central Committee approved the proposals. Political Bureau member, Secretary of the CC Stanislaw Ciosek presented drafts of the twelfth plenum's resolutions which, after inserting remarks and conclusions, will be adopted by the national conference of delegates.

Ciosek also presented drafts of the Twelfth CC Plenum's resolutions. The Central Committee adopted resolutions on party tasks in elections to the Sejm and Senate, one approving materials for the national conference of delegates, and one concerning the 100th anniversary of proclaiming May Day. (Texts of resolutions given separately).

Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke at the end of the plenum.

### Plenum Adopts Resolutions

*LD1504142889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Text] Today's 12th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Plenum adopted material prepared for the national conference of delegates; a report on the implementation of the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress; and a report on the work of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Secretariat, and the task commissions of the PZPR Central Committee in the period since the 10th party congress. A resolution was passed on the party's tasks in the Sejm and Senate elections. The party, the document states will be an active participant in the preelection campaign, open to cooperation with all constructive social forces, and with everyone for whom the good of the nation and state is the supreme goal.

The Central Committee, the resolution states, appeals to party local bodies to make the appropriate undertakings to ensure that the election campaign becomes a continuation of the dialogue begun at the roundtable for the good of the country and local milieux.

The plenum also passed resolutions on the centenary of the designation of 1 May as the day of international working class solidarity, and on the national conference of delegates.

Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor at the end of the plenum's deliberations.

### PAP Carries Resolution

*LD1504192989 Warsaw PAP in English 1729 GMT 15 Apr 89*

["Twelfth PUWP CC Plenum's Resolution"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 15—The 100th anniversary of declaring May Day a holiday of international solidarity of the working class falls this year. The PUWP CC [Polish Workers Party Central Committee] turns with an appeal to all party members and candidates, to party organizations, to working people to mark with dignity this significant anniversary through socially useful activity in work places, cities and housing estates.

Concerning the national conference of PUWP delegates, KKD [expansion unknown], the Central Committee:

1. Approves and directs to delegates to the KKD PUWP a report on the implementation of the resolution of the 10th PUWP congress "for the growth of efficiency in management and improvement of living conditions, for expansion of socialist democracy, for strengthening of Poland's international position" and information on the work of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the PUWP task commissions.

2. Directs to delegates the following government documents:

—government report on implementation of social and economic tasks between the years 1986-1988,
—government proposals concerning changes in the system of social welfare,
—report on the state of organization of the economy and the state forwarded by the party-government commission for the review and modernization of the organizational structure of the economy and the state,
—an outline of the concept of reform of Poland's education system.

3. The Central Committee states that from among 1,776 delegates elected to participate in the 10th PUWP congress, 1,749 delegates retained valid mandates.

### Jaruzelski Interviewed on Political Reform

*LD1604205989 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Text] Helsinki, April 16—The "Studio A" Finnish TV programme broadcast Friday an interview with president of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. Following are excerpts:

In response to the question how does the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], as the basis of the socialist state, intend to maintain its guiding role in the changing

circumstances, Jaruzelski said that the party's majority in the Sejm was not after all the most important thing. We have had such majority over the whole decades, he said and added that unfortunately, it did not protect anyone against crises and dramatic situations. What is the most important is a programmatic dominance, he said. I believe that the form we are adopting in our state's system at present will help the PUWP to fulfil its guiding role more genuinely, through the constructing of a broad, partner-like coalition and gaining society's approval, Jaruzelski said.

Referring to the considerable progress in achieving the national agreement, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that a serious enlivening of the East-West dialogue had been reported. A new atmosphere has been created that influences also internal relations, this including different forces in Poland, he said. The changes that are taking place in socialist countries, mainly in Poland, are producing a certain climate conducive to dialogue different, sometimes antagonistic forces. Also these forces are undergoing transformations. The party is also different—its allies are changing, and above all there are transformations within the considerable part of the opposition, among people who were standing, let us put it like this, on the other side of the political barricade, he said.

In response to the question about links between the renewal in Poland and the perestroyka in the Soviet Union, Jaruzelski said that the processes that were going on in the two countries intermingled with one another. Just because we had started our renewal earlier and many a time we had gone farther, it becomes in a sense an experimental field for reforms in other socialist countries, he said. On the other hand, we are observing with close attention all what is happening in our friends' and we are trying to use the best experiences in our country, Jaruzelski said.

A Finnish journalist said that at the time when Western Europe keeps integrating economically and politically, the socialist states appear to do the contrary, politically first of all, but also in economy. In this connection he asked how the president of the Council of State imagined the development of Europe.

Jaruzelski replied that the state of affairs is perceived as such a big contrast perhaps because we have all got used to some sort of uniformism. Here, in the east of Europe, everything had to be uniform. Now each country shapes its own line in a sovereign manner. Various differences appear distinctly.

I think, Europe is destined to closer links between its two parts, first of all because of the necessity to assure security. The lower is the military threat in future, the greater will be Europe's raw-materials, energy, etc.

The contemporary world has dramatic challenges in this field, and these can be tackled only with joint effort.

## Masowiecki on Roundtable, Solidarity's Future

*AU1404143289 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 14 Apr 89 pp 44-45*

[Interview with Tadeusz Masowiecki, chief negotiator for the Solidarity trade union at the roundtable talks and close adviser to Lech Walesa, by Jerzy Gorski; date, place not given: "Epochal Breakthrough"]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: What has been achieved at the roundtable talks?

Mazowiecki: What I consider epochal is the fact that Solidarity will return to the legal and official scene. Following an initial period of organization, it will be a force that will change the situation in this country. However, it will be able to fulfill its role only if it is backed by a social force. Political change can only guarantee a lasting solution if it is linked to social change.

WP: How did the decisive talks between the government and Solidarity come about?

Mazowiecki: Actually, they started in August last year when Lech Walesa and (Interior Minister) General Kiszczak met for the first time. Following these talks, Walesa decided to end the strike—which was a very difficult decision, and he was forced to use all his authority. Then, further meetings and the 10th Central Committee plenum took place. At that time the Rubicon was crossed. I think that these events will assume a special place in Polish history only after it has been confirmed that it was a real breakthrough, and that as a result, the reform process will develop further.

WP: Will Solidarity take part in parliamentary elections?

Mazowiecki: No. It will not take part in parliamentary elections directly as an organization, but it will only support the Solidarity followers who are running as candidates.

WP: In the negotiations it was decided to secure access to the mass media for Solidarity. Among other things, it will issue a weekly of its own. You have been mentioned as chief editor. When will the first issue appear?

Mazowiecki: If I had to decide, as soon as possible. It would signal to everyone that Solidarity exists again. However, at present we are short of everything that is required for such a project: I do not have editorial offices, no printing facilities, and no money. I hope, however, that I will solve all this before long, and that the newspaper can appear in a month.

WP: What will be the name and format of the periodical?

Mazowiecki: It will be called TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC (Solidarity Weekly), as it was in 1981. It will cover a broad range of subjects, carrying general information as well as committed articles. It will also discuss trade union issues. We must explain a lot to people now, including some of the things we have achieved at the roundtable.

WP: What is the most difficult problem for Solidarity following registration?

Mazowiecki: The organizational problem. We must unite three groups of people into one group—those who worked underground since the state of war was imposed; the many young people who committed themselves during the strikes from May to August 1988; and those who maintained a wait-and-see attitude, believing that there are no effective methods of struggle. The unification of these groups will decide what type of face Solidarity will have.

WP: There are many independent opposition groups in Poland. What role is Solidarity playing among them?

Mazowiecki: When we began our roundtable talks, all opposition groups—those who took part in the talks and those who rejected them—recognized that the legalization of Solidarity must have precedence. That was a very important element for our negotiating position. Once we are legalized, this unity regrettably will go.

WP: What type of relationship will Solidarity maintain with those groups who rejected participation in the roundtable talks?

Mazowiecki: During the roundtable talks, we fought for certain civil rights for everyone, including for these groups. We not only fought against our suppression, but also against theirs. We fought for reforms. The further development of relations between these groups and us will depend on their position on what we have achieved. I expect them to say that their demands were much more far-reaching, but that they recognize what has been achieved, and that they will not destroy it.

WP: Do you believe that a certain radicalization of the Polish people has taken place in recent months?

Mazowiecki: Yes, their expectations have grown considerably. What was inconceivable half a year ago, now seems to be too little to many people. Actually, it is understandable, because the more one has, the more one wants. The process of radicalization is becoming apparent in the new generation in particular. However, this is not radicalization that will use violence, but one that will express itself in words and demands.

WP: In what way will relations between the official trade unions (OPZZ) and Solidarity develop?

Mazowiecki: The issue of relations between the two trade unions is complicated, if we consider when OPZZ was founded and what role it has played.... But it is a trade union with which we will be dealing often, and we must consider it as a partner.

### Youths Demonstrate During Katyn Tribute

*LD1604173489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Apr 89*

[Text] Religious and patriotic ceremonies paying tribute to the memory of the Katyn victims and Poles who fell on various fronts during World War II were held in Gdansk. A demonstration which had been officially announced—a commemorative march to the shipyard workers' monument—took place after a mass at St Bridget's Church. Tribute was also paid to the memory of those fallen and murdered, and wreaths and bouquets of flowers were laid.

Unfortunately, despite an appeal by the organizers, a group of about 200 young people attempted to breach the peace both during the march and afterwards. As a result, measures were taken by law and order forces to disperse the demonstrators.

## 'Arafat Visits Poland, Meets With Jaruzelski

### Jaruzelski Speech at Dinner

*AU1404154889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 89 p 2*

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, at a dinner given in honor of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and "president of the state of Palestine," in Warsaw on 10 April]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade President 'Arafat!

Dear comrades and friends!

I wish to express my sincere satisfaction at being able to play host to President Yasir 'Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian people, and the delegation accompanying him in Poland. This visit affirms the friendship, mutual respect, confidence, and understanding that link our two peoples.

We welcome with respect the bold and realistic decisions made by the Palestinian National Council in Algiers on 15 November 1988. On the one hand, they reflect the just aspirations of the Palestinian people for self-determination and their own state and, on the other hand, a constructive approach to the settlement of the Palestinian question by peaceful means. These decisions were also set out in your speech at the special session of the UN General Assembly in Geneva. They have met with an extensive, positive international response.

The dramatic protest staged by the Palestinian people, which has assumed the form of the national intifadah [uprising], also clearly shows that there is no future for the policy of occupation and trampling on human rights.

The deadlock that has existed in the Middle East for many years—a region of great significance for European and world security—gives rise to profound concern. We are convinced that this problem—a kind of relic of the era of confrontation—must be urgently solved through, first and foremost, realizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and guaranteeing all peoples and states in the region the right to a secure existence within internationally recognized borders. A peace conference on the Middle East could provide a framework within which a solution of this kind could and should be worked out.

On the basis of our European experience, we know that the transition to peace after years of hostility, prejudice, and injustice is a difficult and complicated process that calls for both wisdom and courage. However, there is no alternative. We think that the sooner the sides involved in this conflict that has existed for decades become partners, the better for them, the region, and the whole world.

Poland will continue to actively support the acceleration of the peace process in the Middle East. It is also prepared to make a concrete contribution to it.

Esteemed Comrade 'Arafat, dear Palestinian friends, your visit to Poland provides you with a good opportunity to become more closely acquainted with the process of profound change that is covering all areas of life in the country. However, being so deeply involved in the great tasks of socialist renewal does not restrict our intensive activities in the international arena, which are aimed at preserving peace, strengthening security, and expanding cooperation.

The new thinking, the progress in the disarmament process, and the improvement in the international climate now create a real opportunity for building the foundations of a world without wars in which confrontation and hostility can be replaced by constructive cooperation based on the principle of respect for the interests of individual states and peoples. The process of profound restructuring that is taking place in the Soviet Union as well as the similar changes that are taking place in Poland and other socialist states are conducive to the realization of this vision.

Through the joint effort of the states on our continent, we are seeking to give real form to the concept of a common European home. Progress in this area calls for the active participation of all members of the international community, the elimination of the tensions that continue to exist in various regions of the world, and the defusing of the situation in trouble spots. This particularly applies to the entire Mediterranean basin, which has such close links to the history of European culture and civilization.

Dear comrades, today's talks showed that there is a common desire to expand Polish-Palestinian cooperation. They also provided confirmation of our convergent approach to many international and regional issues. This particularly applies to the positive changes that are currently taking place in international relations, the need to halt the arms race, the maintenance of peace, the strengthening of security in the world, and the political settlement of regional conflicts.

We are watching with friendly interest the process in which Palestinian state authorities are being created. In line with our earlier announcement, we will cooperate and maintain close ties with them.

Esteemed Comrade 'Arafat, dear Palestinian friends, I believe that your visit and the talks that we have held will contribute to the further strengthening of friendship between the Polish and Palestinian peoples. I propose a toast:

—to the health and success of Comrade President 'Arafat and those accompanying him;
—to the realization of the just aspirations of the Palestinian people and a lasting and just peace for all the peoples in the Middle East;
—to peace, security, and cooperation in the world.

## 'Arafat News Conference

*LD1104153589 Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 11 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and president of the Palestinian state Yasir 'Arafat met here today with Polish and foreign newsmen prior to the conclusion of his visit to Poland.

"David killed Goliath. This time, a Palestinian David is standing up to a Goliath armed by Americans and he is bound to win," 'Arafat said and added that Palestinians limited themselves to throwing stones while PLO decided not to use firearms in the Palestinian uprising at the Israel-occupied territories. "Nevertheless Israel ought to know that we do have weapons," he said.

Referring to the Polish-Palestinian relations 'Arafat said he attended today a ceremony of elevating the PLO mission in Poland to the level of embassy.

The president of the Palestinian state also answered a number of other questions. Under a decision by the Palestine National Council, the PLO Executive Committee will perform functions of the government until the latter is appointed.

Speaking about the possibility to convene an international conference on the Middle East, 'Arafat said that Mr "No" (as French mass media call Israeli Prime Minister Shamir) keeps rejecting all proposals concerning the matter. Israel insists on the occupation of our land, 'Arafat said. He also directed a question to the U.S. Administration why it had agreed to withdraw the RSA [Republic of South Africa] military units from Namibia under the international supervision while it did not want to settle the Palestinian problem in the same way.

Asked about his opinion on the possibility to alleviate the situation in Lebanon, 'Arafat replied that what goes on in Lebanon is a crime on the Lebanese nation and, because Lebanon is populated by half a million Palestinians, it is also a crime against the Palestinian nation. This folly should be stopped immediately," he said. "We reject dialogue which uses cannons. We all should help the Lebanese to reach agreement among them. We shall continue our efforts to prevent foreign interference in Lebanon and to make Israeli troops leave that country," 'Arafat said.

President 'Arafat also said that the Palestinians would never agree to elections under Israeli occupation. "We are patient but history proves that time does not work for the invader," he said adding that Israeli president fails to see that Israeli people change as according to recent public opinion polls 65.7 per cent of them favour dialogue with the PLO. 'Arafat also said that anyone who tries to start dialogue with the PLO is being punished and that there is even a law in Israel which sanctions such punishment.

Asked why the time of the press conference was changed, 'Arafat replied that King of Morocco had sent him a cable this morning to say he awaits him.

'Arafat spoke in positive words about the Polish-Palestinian relations. He evaluated his talks with Polish leaders as fruitful stressing the convergence of views on the matters discussed. The visit will contribute to the development of our relations, he said. We have discussed, among other things, the problem of Middle East and an international conference under the U.N. auspices, he added.

"We have always regarded the developments in Poland as a rare experiment. We have similar problems and Poland will remain a pattern to follow for the Palestinians," he said.

Answering another question Yasir 'Arafat informed the journalists that until today during the uprising on the occupied territories 691 Palestinians died, 34 thousand were injured, 5.5 thousand crippled, 32 thousand arrested, 3,800 women were reported to miscarry because of poison gases being used.

Closing the conference, 'Arafat said he was implementing the decisions of the Palestinian National Council. "I am a democrat. I will be held responsible for that," he said.

## 'Arafat Completes Visit

*LD1104195789 Warsaw PAP in English 1852 GMT 11 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and President of the State of Palestine Yasir 'Arafat ended his two-day official visit to Poland today.

Also today, 'Arafat held talks with Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski who told the Palestinian guest about vigorous participation of the Sejm in the process of social, political and economic reforms in Poland and in actions to consolidate peace, security and cooperation in Europe and worldwide. Malinowski pointed to the significance of inter-parliamentary cooperation, including that between Polish and Palestinian parliaments.

Yasir 'Arafat highly sized up international activity of the Polish Sejm and thanked for support given by Poland to the legitimate struggle of the Palestinian people.

The ceremony of bidding farewell to chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and President of the State of Palestine Yasir 'Arafat by Wojciech Jaruzelski and representatives of the supreme authorities was held at the Warsaw Okecie Airport in the afternoon. 'Arafat was bidden farewell with military honours.

## Press Communique Issued

*LD1104195889 Warsaw PAP in English 1855 GMT 11 Apr 89*

["Press Communique on 'Arafat's Visit—(Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April 11—Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), president of the State of Palestine Yasir 'Arafat paid an official visit to Poland on April 10-11, 1989 at the invitation of PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] first secretary, president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

During talks, Jaruzelski and 'Arafat exchanged views on the current state of relations between Poland and the PLO and on the major international and local problems, stating a convergence or closeness of stands on the discussed issues.

Jaruzelski characterized the changes taking place in Poland and Poland's efforts on the international arena to strengthen peace, security and cooperation. He underscored the significance which is attached to consolidating positive transformations in international relations and the political regulation of regional conflicts, including the Middle East.

The chairman of the PLO Executive Committee presented an analysis of the situation in the Middle East and briefed the hosts on activities undertaken by the Palestinian leadership to arrive at a peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem on the basis of the decisions made at the 19th session of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers.

The Polish side confirmed its respect and support for these activities and expressed a conviction that the warranted aspirations of the Palestinian nation for self-determination and statehood, as expressed by the intifada, will be put to practice through a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict because the policy of occupation and violation of human rights has no future.

The Palestinian side expressed respect for Poland's foreign policy and her contribution to the process of detente in international relations, as expressed by the Polish plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe.

Both sides spoke in favour of an urgent convening of an international conference on the Middle East under U.N. auspices with all the parties concerned taking part, the PLO inclusive.

The sides pointed to the constructive character of Soviet proposals presented during the recent talks held by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in the Middle East.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the ceasefire between Iraq and Iran and the commencement of peace negotiations. They acknowledged support for the efforts of the U.N. secretary general to bring about a peaceful solution of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict.

The sides confirmed a wish to further develop contacts and Polish-Palestinian cooperation and joint action in the international arena. Attention was drawn to the possibilities of starting mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

'Arafat expressed thanks for the hospitable reception in Poland which is an expression of the friendship tying both nations.

## Consular Talks Held With FRG Foreign Ministry

*LD1404201789 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Warsaw, April 14—Consular consultations between the Polish and FRG Foreign Ministries were held here April 10-11, the Polish Foreign Ministry's consular department says. The Polish side raised the question of visa restrictions against Polish citizens, introduced by the FRG recently.

Recognizing the right of every state to decide upon the openness of its own borders, the Polish side pointed to the FRG side that new criteria of giving visas to Polish citizens were actually incompatible with the spirit of decisions of the CSCE process on the freedom of travel. They are also incompatible with the spirit of the present period of Europe's East and West coming closer to each other and with the striving of both sides to set up a new stage in mutual relations between our states and societies.

We treat the introduction of new visa regulations only towards Poles as a clear discrimination against our citizens. We cannot accept such an approach by the FRG authorities, the Polish Foreign Ministry said.

The Polish side also told the FRG side that the introduced requirement that Polish citizens going on a tourist trip to the FRG should have 50 DM for every day of their stay would drastically limit primarily youth and student tourism. Sharpened border checks can lead to tensions and conflicts with border authorities and one cannot rule out cases of arbitrary interpretation of powers by border officials.

The FRG delegation heard the arguments of the Polish side with attention and said it would examine the Polish stand in detail.

## Jaruzelski, Rakowski Greet Hungarian Leaders

*AU1404110989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Apr 89 p 2*

[Greetings message from Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, to Hungarian leaders on the occasion of the Hungarian People's Republic's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], Comrade Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Comrade Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Esteemed Comrades! On behalf of the Polish people, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of

the Polish People's Republic [PPR], we convey to the fraternal Hungarian people, the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and to you personally, cordial greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the national day of the Hungarian People's Republic—and the 44th anniversary of its liberation.

The friendship and cooperation of our two peoples, based on the identity of ideological goals, is presently being enriched by new values through the development, in Poland and in Hungary, of a new model of the socialist state.

The Polish people are watching with great interest and sympathy the process of profound changes occurring in the Hungarian People's Republic, the continuing economic and social reforms, and the development of a new image of the socialist system, based on broad national accord and the principles of parliamentary democracy.

The creative cooperation between the PZPR and the MSZMP has its place within this current of progressive changes. The intensive exchange of experience gained during this process of restructuring benefits the achievement of mutual goals.

In their drive to attain the level of development appropriate to the demands of modern civilization, our peoples are deepening their mutual cooperation, by implementing a comprehensive program to develop relations between the PPR and the Hungarian People's Republic, up to the year 2000.

In order to accelerate this developing process of comprehensive economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation, as well as to bring our respective peoples closer together, our countries are employing new and adequate means to achieve this end.

The close cooperation of our two countries in the international arena, their joint efforts to preserve peace and strengthen security by way of reduction of arms and the building up of trust, and their activity in the interests of democratizing and asserting human qualities in international relations are also of fundamental significance in Polish-Hungarian relations.

Poland and Hungary are working actively to improve the basic forms, methods, and cooperation within the framework of the defensive Warsaw Pact, and to restructure the CEMA operating mechanisms and cooperation principles.

On the occasion of your national day we extend to you, dear comrades, cordial wishes for further success in your work for the good of the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as for your good health and personal success.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council;

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

## Further Reports on RCP Central Committee Plenum

### Plenum Ends 14 Apr

*AU1404155489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] The proceedings of the party Central Committee Plenum continued this morning under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

The participants unanimously endorsed the following agenda documents, which had been discussed at the plenum and within the RCP Central Committee commissions for problems:

1) Report on the balance sheet analysis of the overall results achieved by the national economy and on the formation and utilization of financial resources in 1988.
2) Report on the working people's participation in the production process, in achieving profits, and in sharing them in 1988.
3) Report on the development of prices and tariffs in 1988.
4) Proposals on canceling and rescheduling some debts of agricultural production cooperatives.
5) Report on the measures and steps taken to organize and modernize settlements, systematize regions, and improve transportation, communication lines, and electricity networks.
6) Report on the 1988 activity of the party bodies and organizations in the organizational, ideological, and political-educational work; in the area of personnel selection, distribution, and promotion; in the field of answering the working people's letters and intimations; and on the party's international activity to fulfill the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference.
7) Measures to prepare for the 14th RCP Congress.

In connection with the problems discussed, the plenum unanimously adopted a resolution that will be published.

The plenum unanimously adopted the proposal made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Republic, that Romania should not resort to foreign credits in the future, so that its entire development be achieved through its own means and through broad international cooperation. It was decided that this proposal be given power of law by the Grand National Assembly.

As for organizational matters, the plenum unanimously endorsed that Gheorghe Tanase be relieved from his position of secretary of the party Central Committee in connection with his move to another position, and the election of Comrade Constantin Radu as secretary of the party Central Committee.

In conclusion of the plenum proceedings, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP Central Committee, took the floor.

The speech by the party secretary general was followed with particular attention, intense interest, complete satisfaction, and unanimous approval, being repeatedly punctuated by lively and prolonged applause.

### Ceausescu on Foreign Debt

*AU1404174589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1716 GMT 14 Apr 89*

["Nicolae Ceausescu on the Liquidation of Romania's Foreign Debt"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/4/1989—In his speech on Friday at the end of a plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu showed the plenary meeting to be a moment of historic significance in the country's development, in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society, with the interval spanning April 12-14, 1989 marking Romania's complete economic and political independence.

For the first time in its long-standing history, the speaker said, Romania has no foreign debt, pays tribute to no one and is indeed independent from both the economic and the political points of view.

Late in March we paid off the country's foreign debt, which stood at over eleven billion dollars in 1980. Over 1975-March 1989 we paid a total 21 billion dollars or so, of which more than seven billion were interest charges. The said amount does not include the debt in roubles, which was also paid back a long time ago.

At present, our country has to cash in over 2.5 billion dollars from the credits granted to various states.

Nicolae Ceausescu further pointed out: The payment of the foreign debt undoubtedly implied great efforts. We had to work to secure both the country's overall development and a gradual liquidation, over the respective interval, of the entire debt, all while taking the necessary steps for the continuous strengthening of order and discipline, for a proper administration and management of all areas of activity.

As is known, from 1980 to date the world economic situation has been highly complex and serious. The situation of the developing countries has deteriorated constantly and their foreign debt now stands at more than 1,300 billion dollars.

Upon adopting the resolution to pay off our entire foreign debt in the current decade, we considered the fact that it was only by liquidating our debt that we would be

able to secure our full economic and political independence, to unswervingly implement the party programme and to put conditions in place for Romania's firm advance to communism.

Giving a number of figures on Romania's socioeconomic development and on the continuous rise in the people's material and spiritual standards, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that it had been only on the basis of a general development of the forces of production, of science and culture that we had been able to pay off our foreign debt and to secure the country's economic and social growth. Without a strong socioeconomic development—without the growth of industry, of agriculture and of the other sectors—our country would have lagged behind and now, on the eve of the Fourteenth Party Congress and of the 45th anniversary of the revolution of social and national liberation, we could not have had the great achievements that turned Romania from a backward country into a powerful industrial-agrarian country that boasts a high living standard and a great welfare for the nation as a whole.

The RCP general secretary suggested the party Central Committee to adopt a resolution—which the Grand National Assembly should endorse as a law—to the effect that in the future nobody may resort to foreign credits, the country's entire development being attained by our own means—through a broad international collaboration, undoubtedly, but without credits.

## On Farm Debt Reduction

*AU1404182589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 14 Apr 89*

["Nicolae Ceausescu on the Cancellation and Reduction of Debts of Producer Cooperative Farms"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/4/1989—Referring in the speech he delivered at the end of the plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] to the decision of the CC of the RCP regarding the cancellation and the reduction by 80 billion lei of the debts of produce cooperative farms, and by 20 billion lei those of intercoopertive economic associations, RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu showed it to be an important economic and political act which proves the concern of the RCP and of the Romanian state for the powerful growth of socialist agriculture, for the provision of better conditions for the attainment of the targets of the new agrarian revolution. The speaker specified that 666 billion lei were allotted to the development of agriculture over 1945-1989, of which 602 billion lei in the 1966-1989 interval.

It was only on this basis that we could carry through irrigation and land improvement works, increase the fertility of the soil, properly equip and mechanize agriculture, make the Romanian agriculture progress, he stressed. Life proves that not only with us, but throughout the world, agriculture, just as any other area of activity, cannot develop without a strong support and assistance from the state. Agriculture is and will always be one of the basic, major branches of the Romanian economy, the Romanian leader said.

## On Development of Localities

*AU1404184789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 14 Apr 89*

["Nicolae Ceausescu on the Territorial-Administrative Organization and Development of Localities"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/4/1989—In his speech at the end of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] plenary meeting, party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu assessed that the new territorial-administrative organization of 1968 which turned regions and rayons into counties paved the way for a powerful development of the forces of production in the territory.

Outlining the picture of the general development of the country's territories, the speaker showed that the changes wrought in last two decades called for amendments to the 1968 law and to other subsequent laws in accordance with the new realities. More particularly, he said, greater attention must be paid to the problems related to the socioeconomic development of towns and communes, in the spirit of self-management and self-financing. Industrial activity, including small industry, agricultural activity and services must develop accordingly in all towns a communes. We must develop still more agriculture, the small-industry activity and services in communes. Correspondingly, a high level should be imparted to the ten-year education in each commune and senior schools, up to the 12th grade, must be in all the communes turned into agoindustrial centres. The speaker stressed that all communes should boast medicare in dispensaries and maternities, while the agroindustrial-centre communes hospitals. All activities must develop so as to provide civilized living conditions, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out showing that the commune residents should have all conditions in place like the working people in towns, less noise and pollution.

At the same time, adequate houses must be given to all cadres and experts in communes so that till 1990 all of them should live in the communes where they are active. The RCP general secretary requested that all firmness should be shown in applying the provisions of law regarding the systematization of localities and for no reason should industrial and agricultural units or houses be constructed outside the buildable area or on terrains suitable for farming.

## On International Situation

*AU1404192989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 14 Apr 89*

["Nicolae Ceausescu on the Current International Situation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/4/1989—The international life continues to be complex, contradictory and serious, Nicolae Ceausescu said in the speech he delivered on April 14 at the end of the plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party]. The conclusion of understandings on the reduction of nuclear weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the beginning of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe, the cessation of conflicts and the conclusion of understandings on the negotiated settlement of conflicts give mankind many hopes as concerns the possibility of striking further accords and understandings to ease the way to the elimination of war from the life of mankind, to the ensurance of a lasting peace. However, one cannot overlook the fact that the nuclear-weapon countries more particularly the United States of America and the Soviet Union, have huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons of various types, which can destroy the whole mankind and life on our planet several times over. The NATO continues to talk about the modernization of a whole range of short-range missiles, and nuclear tests and research into outer space militarization continue, too.

The threat of a nuclear war, which, I should like to repeat it, will lead to the destruction of mankind and of living conditions on our planet, will persist as long as nuclear weapons are maintained.

That is why, the fundamental issues of our epoch are cessation of the nuclear arms race and the achievement of a passage to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in several stages. Nuclear tests and the outer space militarization programme should be given up and so should the modernization of shorter-range missiles by the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, under a corresponding international control, and the political outlook on the "ensurance of peace" through nuclear deterrence, which actually is the outlook on the war of domination, should be renounced.

The threat posed by nuclear ships and submarines, the recent serious accident when a Soviet submarine carrying nuclear weapons sank, but then, also the previous accidents when American vessels sank, prove the correctness of the peoples' demand for an end to the presence of nuclear ships in international waters, and even more serious are the flights of aircraft carrying nuclear weapons, which should also stop. We should work in all firmness to put an end to any action jeopardizing life and civilization on our planet.

Furthermore, we state firmly for the elimination of chemical weapons, along with nuclear weapons, for a radical, substantial cut in conventional arms, under a strict international control, and for the reduction of military spending by at least 50 percent until the 2000s, the means thus released being used both for the resolution of serious social issues in the respective countries and for aid to the developing countries.

We welcome the course towards the negotiated settlement of conflicts and the cessation of the war between Iran and Iraq, and we express our hope that a corresponding accord on the establishment of a lasting and just peace will be struck.

We hail Vietnam's decision to withdraw its troops form Kampuchea and we express our hope that a national reconciliation will be arrived at a government of national unity being created to provide for a democratic, independent and non-aligned development of Kampuchea.

We express our hope that the resolution of the United Nation organization on the ensurance of Namibia's independence this year will be implemented, which should not be detrimental to the progressive forces that state for Namibia's true independence.

We consider it is high time and international conference on Middle East issues were called, with the participation of both the newly-created Palestinian state and Israel, to lead to the achievement of a lasting and just peace in that part of the world.

In general, we have always stated for the renunciation of the use and threat of force, for the settlement of interstate litigious issues through negotiations alone.

We are of the opinion that an end should be put to any support to the antigovernmental forces in Afghanistan, that the achievement of national reconciliation, of a government apt to ensure the democratic, independent and non-aligned development of Afghanistan should be backed.

Likewise, we fully support the decisions of the Central American countries on the cessation of any foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Nicaragua, just as of other states. We are for a political solution, for the ensurance of the independence and democratic development of the Republic of Nicaragua and of other state.

Recalling that Romania had always declared firmly for a Europe united in the diversity of its social systems, which should ensure the economic and social development of every nation, without any outside interference, Nicolae Ceausescu said: When we declare for a united Europe we do not mean a Europe of military blocs or of economic blocs, since this is not in the interest of any people, we mean a Europe of cooperation among free, independent nations. This will actually ensure Europe's force of progress and civilization.

In the development of collaboration and cooperation in Europe, the decisions adopted at the Vienna meeting this year should in no way be used by circles of countries as a means of interference in states' affairs. Every European country, just as all the countries of the world, have to solve many economic, social problems, humanitarian included. No one can claim to have the right to impose his way of thinking and solving problems. Such a way is doomed to failure and can only lead to tension in interstate relations. Only cooperation on the principles of fully equal rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual assistance and reciprocally advantageous economic cooperation meets the interests of all peoples—and it alone secures the progress of each and every nation.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was firmly for a broad cooperation among the Balkan countries and for the transformation of the region into a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons, foreign military bases, showing that Romania backed the creation of such zones in northern and central Europe just as on other continents.

Reiterating Romania's determination to work in close unity with the developing countries for the liquidation of underdevelopment, for a new international economic order, President Nicolae Ceausescu said: I would like to say again that irrespective of the development level of future Romania, it will always be on the side of and cooperate closely with the developing countries for the attainment of the targets concerning the eradication of underdevelopment, every nation's economic and social progress, the achievement of new-type relations of economic cooperation set on the principles of equity and quality, the building of a new world economic order. This meets the interests of all the countries of the world, of both the developing and the developed countries. The perpetuation of the world's division into rich and poor countries cannot but lead to serious prejudices to all the states of the world.

We also attach great importance to the Nonaligned Movement and we hope that the meeting due this year will mark an new moment in enhancing the unity and the might of the Nonaligned Movement for the new democratic policy of disarmament, peace, cooperation among all the world nations, the speaker said.

In his speech Nicolae Ceausescu declared for the strengthening of the cooperation of all the small and medium-sized countries, for their active participation in the international countries, for their active participation in the international life, for an enhanced role or the United Nations Organization, of other international bodies in the democratic settlement of all the problems concerning mankind at present.

He expressed the belief that by working jointly, the progressive, antiimperialist forces, the peoples everywhere can bring about a change in the course of events, impose a disarmament and peace policy, a new policy of full equality among all the nations of the world.

The RCP general secretary underlined the great importance attached to the cooperation with the communist and worker parties, with the socialist and social democratic parties, with other democratic forces considering their solidarity and cooperation as highly significant under the current international circumstances.

We are for a more enhanced role and activity of the communist parties, for the strengthening of their solidarity and cooperation so that they should fulfill their mission of active forces in the fight for the settlement—alongside other forces and parties—of the complex and grave problems of the present-bay world, Nicolae Ceausescu underscored.

## On CEMA Cooperation

*AU1404200989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 14 Apr 89*

["Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's Economic Exchanges"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/4/1989— In his speech at the end of the CC [Central Committee] RCP [Romanian Communist Party] plenary meeting, party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu showed that in the 1991-1995 interval Romania would attach special importance to foreign trade activities, to growing economic exchanges and cooperation in production, to its more active participation in the international exchanges of material and spiritual assets. In the context the speaker specified:

Particularly appreciating CMEA's important role in the socioeconomic development of socialist countries, we are determined to take an active part in improving the activity of this body of collaboration with a view to implementing the jointly adopted programmes till the year 2000 which should ensure a balanced development of all the member countries on the basis of the latest advances in science and technology. The necessity is apparent that special programmes should be worked out within CMEA for the development of all member countries, according to the new, socialist economic principles.

In our opinion, CMEA has not exhausted its possibilities and, working for the improvement of its activity, it will be able to further play ever more active role in the development of socialism, of each country, in the assertion of the might of socialism as the most righteous system in the world.

We shall give special attention to collaboration with the developing countries and wish to reiterate in the plenum, too, that Romania shall ever be together and in close cooperation with the developing countries. We think there are broad possibilities to expand collaboration, to cooperate and jointly carry through various projects which should ensure the economic and social progress of the developing countries which cooperate together.

We shall also continue to work for the growth of economic, technical and scientific relations with the developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We shall firmly set our economic relations on the principles of full equality, mutual advantage, on the need for a high-quality and highly technical collaboration as well as on the achievement of the highest efficiency.

### On 'Improvement' of Socialism

*AU1404202389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 14 Apr 89*

["Nicolae Ceausescu on Improving Socialism"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/4/1989—We must firmly stress that general laws, the principles of socialism improve and develop continually, in keeping with the latest achievements, with the latest human knowledge, that the forms of building the socialist society are not given once and for all, that there is no pattern, no model, that each people, each party must establish the forms of building socialism in accordance with the specific economic and social conditions, with the new development stage of human society.

To be a revolutionary means to always understand the new, to resolutely fight everything that is obsolete, to improve the entire activity in step with the new demands, yet always starting from the need to build socialism and communism, a world without exploiters, without oppressors.

One cannot speak about the improvement of socialism, of the principles of socialist economic development by coming back to capitalist forms, more or less developed.

I mention all this because we should debate at length in our party the basic problems of socialist development. In this respect I think it is every important to re-edit some of the basic works of the founders of scientific socialism, especially of Marx and Engels, which as a general, perspective orientation are still fully topical and more particularly, arm the party, the people, the youth with the method of scientific analysis of social development, of the development of mankind in general.

We cannot claim Marx and Engels, Lenin or others to have worked out solutions and recipes for the current problems. But the way of thinking and approaching them, and the revolutionary class spirit should be a model of scientific analysis for all Communists, for youth as a whole.

One can in no way conceive [of] socialist development by giving up in one way or another, or diminishing the class fight. The class fight has always been the basis for mankind's progress, for social development, the fight between oppressors and oppressed, between the old and the new has ever been the foundation of societal development. To say today that the class fight must be replaced by other conceptions means to doom socialism to stagnation, means to come, in one form or another, in support of capitalism and imperialism, and this thing is not possible

Everything we have achieved so far is closely linked to the political leadership by the party of all spheres of activity. The improvement of the management of socialism, and the democratization of socioeconomic activities call for the party's strengthening leading political role and not for its weakening, call for a close unity between the party and the people—this being an objective demand, the loftiest guarantee of Romania's firm advance toward socialism and communism.

### Ceausescu Chairs SDUF Plenary Meeting 14 Apr

*AU1404204789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/4/1989—Under the chairmanship of RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary, President of Romania and SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu a plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front was held on Friday, April 14.

The agenda included several reports of an economic character and others on measures and actions taken for the organization and modernization of localities, for the organization and exercise of worker control.

Numerous speakers expressed the cooperative farmers' deep gratitude for Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal for the write-off and rescheduling of the debts made by producer cooperative farms in previous years.

At the end of the debates the participants unanimously approved the documents in the agenda.

The plenum of the SDUF National Council espoused President Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal for a decision on the nonrecourse to foreign credits in the future, to achieve Romania's entire development by its own means, in condition of a broad international collaboration, and recommended the Grand National Assembly to pass a law in that respect.

At the end of the plenary meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

### Addresses Closing of Plenum

*AU1504141589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0806 GMT 15 Apr 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/4/1989—In his speech made at the close of the plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] on April 14, President Nicolae Ceausescu

assessed with reference to the fact that Romania had paid off the foreign debt at the end of March this year, that it was a great victory of the whole nation's creative work and activity. "This happens for the first time in our people's long history," he said, "in which we had to pay tribute for a long time and had many debts, many interest rates. Now we have long ceased to pay tribute, but have no debt either and have decided not to depend on anyone any longer, either economically or politically, to really ensure the independence of our people, of our nation."

The speaker showed that the recent plenary meeting of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee [CC] endorsed the decision—that is to be submitted to the Grand National Assembly to be passed as law—that nobody should be allowed in any form in future to resort to any foreign credit, so that the whole socio-economic development of Romania should be achieved through the country's own forces, by collaboration of course with all states of the world, but relying upon the principle of equality and mutual advantage.

Referring to the decision to write off the 100 billion lei debt of some cooperative producer farms and intercooperative economic associations, endorsed at the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and by the plenary meeting of the SDUF, that will be advanced for approval to the Grand National Assembly, the state's supreme forum, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that that measure demonstrated the might of the Romanian economy, as well as the correct policy of the RCP and Romanian state of sustaining the vigorous development of socialist agriculture, as a basic, fundamental branch of the national economy.

In connection with the decision of the CC of the RCP's plenum regarding the convening of the party's congress in November and the establishment of the directions and orientations for the drafting of the documents, especially of the master program of socio-economic development of Romania, the speaker mentioned that those documents would be released in due time, so that all organizations that are members of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, the whole nation would be able to debate them, state their opinion and endorse in full unity the decisions on the country's future for the 1991-2000 period and, in some domains, also for the next period of the third millennium.

Stressing that Romania avails of a multilaterally developed industry that virtually covers all modern branches existing in the world economy, President Nicolae Ceausescu stated:

"We can produce any equipment and machinery, let us commit ourselves to be competitive in any domain with the best products turned out in the world. In only one domain we do not want to do it—that of nuclear weapons. Technically, we do have this ability as well, but we do not commit ourselves to it, for we are firmly resolved to fight against nuclear weapons which, if used, would destroy life itself on our planet. We firmly speak up for their elimination from all states, for a world free of weapons, free of wars.

"The policy of the RCP which we have all declared our leading political force, has proved to be fully correct, for it has started from the realities of our homeland, from the interests of the whole nation, its purpose is the accomplishment of the dreams of all those who, along the centuries, fought for the homeland's welfare, happiness and independence, the RCP general secretary highlighted, emphasizing at the same time the virtues of the Romanian democratic system that ensures the participation of all social categories, starting with the working class, the leading class of society, in running all sectors of activity. The Socialist Democracy and Unity Front itself, its bodies, the front's National Council, are the expression of the greatly democratic character, of the broad participation of all social categories in running the whole activity, in the elaboration and implementation of the country's home and foreign policy. In fact, he stressed, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front encompasses all forces of the nation, the whole people. There is no organization, body, the religious denominations included, not to directly participate in the bodies of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, in the whole activity."

## LCY Central Committee Convenes for 22d Session

### Suvar Makes Introductory Speech

*LD1404130289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0741 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—A transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] stems primarily from the LCY'S need to rise to the level of it own program commitment: to be visionary and an initiator in the socialist development of Yugoslav society and to continue to reaffirm its capacity to attract and muster progressive, creative forces on the platform of its programs.

This was said by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in an introductory speech on the LCY'S main directions of transformation at the 22d session of the LCY Central Committee today.

Noting that as far back as at its sixth congress in 1952, the LCY had committed itself to being both an ideological and a political force, but that even today the LCY is still in the grip of the attitude and practice of being obliged to serve, directly or indirectly, the mainstays of powers and the institutions of the system, Stipe Suvar said that the LCY has to embark on a deeper analysis of social reality and draw on the research into long-term social trends in formulating its "current" tasks. "Its calls for changes in order to create something new sound unconvincing when the old is being pursued in practice! This is what fosters opportunism and the hope that if things cannot change for the better, at least they will not get worse."

Transformation in the LCY must pave the way for a thorough democratization in society. This is the main goal of the transformation of the LCY, Suvar continued, and the only way to ensure the continuation of the strategy of the Yugoslav socialist revolution and socialist self-management, which was created by the Communist Party of Yuoslavia, the LCY, and the national liberation struggle and which are to be found in the LCY program and the SFRY Constitution.

We have spent a great deal of energy in squabbling. The "balance of forces" and the state of our consciences have not been conducive to efforts to instill new meaning, to make new inroads, to bring about radical changes. The LCY has been in the grip of confusion. It seems that after the 13th congress and especially the LCY conference we have, nevertheless, begun to emerge from this confusion by agreeing on the need for three reforms—in fact, for a single, deep, and far-reaching reform of socialism in our country. Although we are far from starting the reforms, we have at least reached unity in our principled commitment to them.

In reference to the development of socialism around the world, Suvar said that this system had never been, nor is it today, in opposition to capitalism as a separate and independent system. This is the crucial angle from which we must embark on further developing socialism in Yugoslavia, Suvar underlined, and went on to note that a few decades ago the LCY had come up with initial solutions by opting for socialist self-manaement, but at that time it had failed to take into account or overcome the contradictions of social ownership and underestimated the need to develop other forms of ownership.

Suvar continued his speech by talking about two visions of the development of socialism in our country. The first vision proceeds from the thesis that we find ourselves in a crisis as a result of the fact that in Yugoslavia we "missed" the phase of developed bourgeois society and that socialist revolution allegedly violated history. This is probably why we see reports about the death of socialism and the end of the working class. The second thesis assumes that our country abandoned and betrayed socialism immediately after victory in the national liberation struggle and in 1948. This attitude is being resurrected today in various disguises; it has been ideologically adapted, but in essence contains calls for a commanding party role, for monolithic unity and the rule of the majority in national politics, and for centralism in managing society. Both of these theses are, in fact, the old ideological criticism of our revolution and of all that was created during the national liberation struggle and which continued to be developed during Tito's time under his leadership, Suvar stressed.

According to Suvar, both these alternatives offer as a model for our immediate and long-term future a divided, conflict-ridden society, and therefore cannot guarantee uniform democratic development for the country. We cannot—nor should we—continue to be preoccupied by the past or be its slaves. However, we cannot develop our future properly without relying on what we were and what we have already accomplished, Suvar stressed.

In all the crucial moments in our history, the Communist Party, i.e., the LCY, took the initiative. Has it taken it today, Suvar asked. If it has not, why not; and how can it regain it?

It is crucially important for the LCY to improve today and tomorrow, to have a new vision of the development of society and to carry it out in line with the genuine relations in society, Suvar stressed. Socialist self-management is incompatible with state monopoly in expanded reproduction. Today we are ready to make a genuine reversal. However, this will not be possible without big social upheavals, Suvar stressed. He referred to the real interests of sections of the working class, of the economy, social strata, etc. It is our duty to mercilessly criticize our former practice and the ideology which sanctioned it, but without abandoning socialism and self-management. Instead, we must work for their reconstruction, revitalization and further democratization. This is the main social context for transforming the LCY, Suvar said.

Speaking about what socialism means in the world today and what kind of socialism Yugoslavia needs, Suvar said that present-day socialism could not be interpreted as a political cloak masking social poverty. Neither present-day socialism nor future socialism can survive as a mere reflection of simple, narrow, and consciously reduced human needs and freedoms determined by the state or a political party. By abandoning state socialism, we will not necessarily be abandoning either the idea or practice of liberating mankind. On the contrary, we shall restore the kind of reality which rejects dogmas and which sees man as society's most valuable production force, he said.

Socialism suited to mankind will not and can in no way ever be a harmonious ideal society without contradictions and conflicts, Suvar continued. The essence of the changes is that the system itself, in line with the realistic social vision of "the new man," does not force them to be ideal. For this reason, the new ideas about socialism take as their starting point the need for the economic, legal, and political system to foster relations in which man himself will be the subject and the purpose.

Regarding the chances for socialism in the future, for a socialist world plan, Suvar's opinion is that this requires a synthesis of democratic programs which do not destroy specific differences. The Yugoslav understanding of socialism must be founded on world knowledge, achievements, and experiences, not just because socialism is possible only as an open process, but because Yugoslavia is a microcosm, he said. The transformation of the LCY must be based on these basic assumptions on the new interpretation of socialism and be implemented in accordance with them.

Speaking about different understandings of the aim, extent, and meaning of the reform of the LCY, Suvar said that, in fact, it was a question of differences in views about the sort of society we want. Without the most radical changes in the monolithic social system where one party monopolizes politics, there is no chance of increasing freedoms, democracy, the economic effectiveness of socialism, or the spiritual and material wealth of people.

Our society has fallen into crisis because one party, in this case the LCY, with the assistance of transmission systems [sistemi transmisija], with legal, quasi-legal, and illegal statutory and unstatutory use of state and political mechanisms, has lost the real vanguard role and has even become a proponent moving backward. By doing this, the LCY has changed from a party which, in the great historic sense, speeded up social processes in the sphere of production, national, cultural, and political freedoms and has deteriorated into a party which is holding up these processes, Suvar said.

Stressing that today the party has no need to interfere in the sphere of economic activity and decisionmaking in production, and that the whole democratic socialist society should be given expression in a new constitution, Suvar said that in this way, the LCY is surrendering responsibility for what it cannot in fact do and is also divesting itself of rights which do not belong to it. This also assumes the ending of monopolistic positions in everything and of any privileges whatsoever by the party leadership, who have been and are the object of criticism and dissatisfaction by the wider public. The vanguard position is not given in advance to any one individual or organization, or for that matter to the LCY, despite its historical merits.

The working class and all the creative and progressive forces of society are no longer reconciled to a controlled system of self-management or to the political monopoly of the bureaucracy and technocracy. Precisely because of the remaining elements of its political monopoly, the transformation of the LCY is the basic prerequisite for social reforms, stressed Suvar. If the LCY were to remain the same as it is today, it would not only deepen the social crisis, but it would increasingly find itself tempted to resort to the politics of repression in the name of preserving the system, "resolving" intranational relations, saving socialism, and so on. In this connection, differences arise in the understanding of the aims and tasks in the transformation of the LCY. Some would like a real change in its role; others would like it to change and perfect only its methods and forms of activity, while there are still others who would like to revert to a monolithic nature and its commanding role of bygone times.

If we favor a genuine transformation of the LCY—and we must be for it if the LCY is to remain the leading ideological force within the working class and society—Suvar stressed our guiding idea must be that society itself—in other words, each individual citizen—should tackle his own problems and decide about his own future. And in political competition, the LCY must win majority support for its program for short-term and long-term changes. Transformation implies the need for the LCY primarily to change its attitude toward society and not just to engage in an internal overhaul or small-scale alterations in its organization.

Precisely because it is no longer possible to serve all legitimate interests and solve all the existing contradicitions through a one-party monopoly and through direct methods, the transformation of the LCY must create scope for all creative, progressive, and socialist ideas, initiatives, programs, and solutions which the LCY itself will not act as an arbiter to but, in the political system of self-management, will use democratic methods to fight for the goals of its program and for the acceptance and implementation of its policy. In this context, he said, the proponents of the old thinking look for solutions in party centralism without democracy, in the abolition of republican organization, in the elimination of the rights of the minority, abolishing the right to contrasting opinions, in monolithic unity, etc. If the LCY wants to remain a

historically relevant, revolutionary, and at the same time democratic organization, it cannot afford to continue its current social role, realistically speaking, Suvar stressed.

It has become obvious that the party cannot control itself, restrict its activity, or encourage changes, Suvar continued. All this indicates that radical changes are needed in the political system, especially in the LCY's status within it. For this reason, the transformation of the LCY is a prerequsite for and part of the deeper reform of our entire political system; for transformation of all other sociopolitical organizations, particularly the Socialist Alliance; for elimianting political voluntarism in the economy; and for the freedom to run for and be elected to all public offices in line with constitutional and legal norms which apply to all citizens.

After stressing that the future face of the LCY must derive from the new substance of socialism, Suvar went on to say that in such a society there would be no room for an organization which strives to reaffirm the truth through decrees and a priori decisions.

Reducing the reform of the LCY to a radical replacement of leaders, a system of accountability through differentiation, expulsions, and punishments, and reducing democratic centralism to a means for thought control and to a situation where the leadership of the LCY Central Committee guarantees and imposes unity would take us back into the past and to relations which we tried to change as long ago as the sixth congress, Suvar stressed. Such a return is no longer possible since it would lead to the paralysis and real disintegration of the LCY and would once and for all remove the LCY from the political stage Suvar said, adding that we should not ignore the presence of neo-Stalinist tendencies which are evident in the LCY itself. Theses about mere reorganization of cadre renewal as a formula for resolving the overall social crisis reflect efforts which clash with the experiences of all developed democratic societies, with growing social needs and the awareness of the need to reform socialism and the role of one-party systems in the majority of socialist countries. This type of thinking raises the following issues: cadre renewal; the position, role, and power of leaderships; the strengthening of democratic centralism, etc. It would divert both the LCY and society as a whole to side issues. In contrast to this type of thinking the basis for a transformation of the LCY lies in changing its social role to give priority to the issues of the political system, direct elections, the rule of law, etc.

Suvar went on to speak about political pluralism as one of the basic assumptions in the transformation of the LCY. In this context, he said that the LCY should give a positive answer in relation to having political pluralism in our society, although the question arises as to the legality of forms of political association. Recalling that under the present Constitution, the founding of new political parties is impossible, Suvar said that the LCY could give no other answer to this question other than an insistence upon respect for the Constitution. The program and ideological and political relationships of the LCY with forms of organized political interests, including the question of a multiparty system, is another matter.

Noting that in the Yugoslav public domain there are many controversies, confrontations, and confusions, Suvar said that the LCY must give a considered answer to this question in the ideopolitical program for drawing up a new SFRY constitution. Citing the passage from the LCY program on this question ("for Communists, the problem of a multiparty or a single party system does not arise; both can be the reality for a particular period of socialist development in various countries"), Suvar said that the LCY cannot transform itself through campaigns for "purges" of cadres or by noninstitutional and illegal pressures, but only by insisting on criteria for the competition and testing of the programs or each leadership and each leader, the practice of every one of their organizations among the citizens and the public. When we say this, we are not favoring a return to a multiparty system or the importing of current solutions from countries which have different production relations and different social systems.

Our aim is for socialist society to move simultaneously from the party democracy—or for that matter single-party democracy—with a strengthening of direct socialist democracy in which decisionmaking by the workers, as a political rule and as a tendency, is the basis and starting point for both political pluralism of self-managing intersts, toward a situation with parties, but in this respect we reject the idea of collective harmony. It is essential to make it possible within the system to express and articulate individual political interests and to promote them in society. In relation to this essential task, the question of the form in which this can be realized is secondary.

Stressing that in the transformation of the LCY the organizational issue gains particular importance, Suvar said that the LCY today must change the criteria for entering and leaving the LCY and for establishing the responsibility of LCY members and the relationship towards the LCY leadership must also be changed. The idea that the leadership is everything and the organization nothing is still deeply rooted. Together with a lack of control of the social and political monopoly of the party, by means of political pluralism and direct elections, this is an essential cause for the impasse in the internal democratization of the LCY. The understanding of democratic centralism is also drawn from such an ideological matrix.

Also unacceptable at this moment are the very pronounced demands for a firm centralist organization, in which all differences would be leveled by the steamroller of centralism, with insufficient democracy, in order, in this way, supposedly, to achieve and preserve unity, said Suvar. And regarding entry into the LCY, neither in a

statutory nor in a real sense should this be an entry into an organization of select people which is in any way privileged, just as leaving the LCY should not be any social or political punishment.

Decisions made by various organs and specific policy cannot be criticized only at congresses. At the same time, arguments, dialogue, the clash of opinions and ideas must replace punishments, directives, mechanical majorities, populism in the party, "nationalization" and "unitarization" of the party, practicism, opportunism, and careerism. In reference to the relationship between the majority and minority view, Suvar said that party democracy will not be enhanced unless there is respect for the right of the member of the LCY who is in the minority to freely maintain his own view and not to be punished for it if he is in no way hampering the execution of the democratically passed decisions. Divisions of majority and minority are desirable and necessary on some issues and problems but what is unacceptable are factions, especially those emerging from the struggle for power. It would be fatal for the unity of the LCY if minority factions are created within it on national, republican, provincial or any other territorial basis. Unity in the League of Communists [LC] and in its leaderships including above all the LCY Central Committee must be created on each specific issues, in democratic relations, and through the clash of opinions.

Having stressed that for the reputation and influence of the LCY what its members do and how they behave are of vital importance, Suvar went on to say that democratic relations are threatened in particular by the increasingly frequent practice of slandering and putting pressure on those who voice their critical views. Virtual witchhunts and campaigns deprived of any argument are organized against them. This, Suvar said, is directly aimed at stifling democracy within the party and is a violation of the principle of democracy in the LCY. In this context, he spoke about charges against the party and other leaderships, as a rule, in republic and provinces other than one's own, without any criticism of one's "own" leadership. Behavior like this is not a product of a democratic climate; rather it stifles democracy and enforces a homogenous public opinion in one's own environment so as to mobilize it against people and events in other environments or even among whole nations or republics.

Speaking about the way in which the LCY could act as a united organization with a single program and the same basic statutory solutions, Suvar said that the LCY, as an ideological and political factor of integration and cohesion which continues to count on its leading role and will fight for it through democratic means, must derive its unity from concern for and efforts to safeguard the foundations of the Yugoslav community and to preserve and improve its prospects as a socialist—and not any other kind—community. Workers do not want to live in an artifically divided country under the domination of "national" technobureacracies in conflict with each other. This is what we are trying to point out so strongly when revoking the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] foundations of Yugoslavia. We cannot provide an answer to the question of what kind of Yugoslavia we want before we decide on what kind of socialism we want. Yugoslavia cannot be imposed by or organized according to the will of some of its citizens and to the disadvantage of the others or of other nations and nationalities. It has to be a country of differences and specific features, both cultural and national, if it is to exist and develop as a federal, common home without divisions into first-class and second-class citizens. To give a priority to the class factor over the national factor will lead not just to abstract notions or speculations, but can also be used as an excuse for pursuing a policy of national and nationalist exemptions, possible supremacy, and majority rule. To extoll national states and to promote national "mass movements" and homogeniety is even more fatal. The LCY can neither swear by the abstract goals of the socialist revolution or by holy and eternal national characteristics, but constantly reaffirm itself as the champion of social relations conducive to more social equality and social justice.

Stressing that it is very dangerous and risky to reduce every and all programs for social action to so-called national programs and that all accusations that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia-LCY took a mistaken position towards the nationality issue were out of place, dangerous, destructive, and reactionary, Suvar said that the LCY was neither an organization of imposed centralism nor a conglomerate of organizations which by the logic of the state, reflected federalism. It is a united organization in which all the constituent parts make and carry out a joint united policy, not in all the details of implementation, but within the parameters of the LCY program and the LCY statutes. Certain parts of it cannot dictate to other parts, cannot impose their solutions, nor can the policy of majority rule be implemented on this basis. The proposals that one part of the LCY, a part of the united LCY, for example, should have 10 times more members in the LCY Central Committee than another part are unacceptable. Democratic centralism must be applied to the whole of the LCY, but while taking into account the determining factors mentioned, otherwise mechanical unity and the inbuilt possibilities for rule by dictate would lead to its disintegration, Suvar stressed.

Regarding the social basis of the LCY, Suvar said this must lie in the working class in such a way that the LCY must be with the workers, side by side with the workers in every situation, when they are struggling for self-management, against technocracy, against squandering resources, and against privileges; and the LCY must be with them and it must confront them with arguments and dialogue when they seek what they have not earned or when they put forward this or that unjustified and unsystemic demand.

Regarding the relationship of the LCY toward young people, Suvar said that the battle for them today and

tomorrow was crucial both for the future of socialism and the future of the LCY itself and that the LCY cannot ensure its position among young people with empty sermons or with a didactic attitude, but only by means of initiatives and actions which young people will accept and acknowledge.

According to Suvar, the transformation of the LCY should also find expression in changes and amendments to the LCY statute in order to strengthen the position of the LC member and to establish a permanent basis for the democratization of internal relations. He also noted that the LCY must finance itself.

As long as the country and society are facing crisis, leading people in the LC, in Suvar's opinion, should not be receiving decorations and tributes, unless they are receiving them for achievements in their own professions. The number of professionally employed people in the LC apparatus and leaderships should be reduced and not further increased.

As far as the LCY program is concerned, Suvar considers that the new nature of social events and the state of awareness and relations in the LC itself require either the supplementing of the existing program or even the drawing up of a new one. The state of the crisis and the confusion in which we still find ourselves is not a reason for abandoning this task, on the contrary it is a reason for addressing it as a step forward towards new, far-reaching initiatives. At the same time, we must see this task as the need for a new attainment, intellectually and in our program, of the best and the most progressive, because only from this position can our own internal circumstances and relations gain a criterion of realism and can everything which is backward and retrograde be overcome in the right measure. On this basis, our orientations will have to reject certain of our previous, specific approaches in our links with the new world, primarily with the aim of involving ourselves as much as possible in those world trends which are the most progressive.

In the LCY program we should also give answers to other questions imposed by the reality of our society and world, and in doing this, we should redefine many concepts, that is we should reinterpret them. It is also necessary to renew the program so that we do not continue to stagnate or even go backwards into the wilderness of local pragmatic interests and so that we are not blinded by the appearance of world trends, instead of discerning their essence. Therefore, the LCY cannot abandon a far-reaching study of the future, so that the clarity of its aims may everyday inspire human action.

This does not mean that the LCY, because of the long-term program, should not also have short-term programs. We cannot ask current generations to deny themselves in the name of communism the need and satisfaction of vital creativity of the 21st and 22d century. The aims and methods which the LCY seeks to offer society in order for it to get out of its current structural crisis must be clear and acceptable. This relates above all to the question of economic reform, a new constitution, and the political system. On this level, the LCY must count on competition from programs and projects of other political forces, above all in the elections for assemblies and organs of power and in the selection of the government.

LCY Central Committee Presidium President Stipe Suvar concluded that with the entirety of these changes the LCY will become an organization of new initiative which is given strength by the creativity of the individual, freely and equally associating with people who are struggling with democratic means for their ideas and aims to be accepted by the whole community.

### Korosec Delivers Address

*LD1404235389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—The awareness that it is necessary to convene the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] prior its statutory date has ripened throughout LCY.

The preparations for the congress must be approached with enhanced ambition to make it a congress of unity and synthesis, with full respect for differences and the right of difference, a congress that will determine clearly the LCY stands and assessments on the current social situation and outline unambiguously the ideological basis of our plan for renewing our model of socialism and a strategy for the LCY activities needed to carry this out, said Stefan Korosec in his introductory address at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

By the headline of the introductory speech, "Toward the Congress for Renewing our Project of Socialism and Beginning the Restoration of Trust in the LCY," Korosec determined, in a certain sense, the essence and aim of the forthcoming LCY Congress.

The forthcoming LCY Congress should minimize the fears of working people and citizens with respect to their current quality of life and their problems, as well as with respect to their prospects, which means, in fact, our whole society's prospects. In this difficult situation, we, the communists of Yugoslavia, must be up to the level of this task, otherwise we will bear the appropriate consequences.

In the course of discussions on preparations for the congress, the question was repeatedly raised as to what should be a matter of continuity and what a matter of discontinuity within the policy that will be established by the congress. Continuity should be found, he said, in the ideas and values of socialism, particularly in those of our socialist revolution as a historically new form of social order, in further determined commitment to the socialist development of society, the development of self-managing production relations in which the worker will make

decisions on the basis of the results of his work, subject to verification by the market. Discontinuity will be in terms of the practice and normative solutions that have led us into the crisis, for it is the very change of all these things that can provide for the continuity of this idea. This is a matter of the discontinuity of bureaucratic-etatist relations and conservatism among our own ranks. This is the aim of the social reform and not a divorce from the idea of self-managing socialism, as some people would attempt to depict our present efforts, although there are those who want the final disappearance of socialism from the historical scene.

Of course, in doing this we should change a great deal about our notions of socialism, and particularly of the institutionalized forms through which it has been carried out, we should go back to our roots, but also aspire toward new knowledge. No longer should we be dogmatically enslaved by some quasi-eternal truths or ideological constructions concerning social relations based on the notion of a society without conflicts and on the institutions created under such delusions. Perhaps the greatest discontinuity is needed in these areas.

An agreement has been reached that social reform and the transformation of the LCY should be the main topics of the congress. Preparations for the congress also set out the stands of the First LCY Conference on Economic and Social Reform and on the transformation of the LCY, using these as the basis for Yugoslav society's democratic emergence from crisis along socialist, self-managing lines.

Social reform is merely a synthetic term signifying a series of radical changes that, in fact, represent a concrete historical form of transformation from an etatist-administrative managed economy to a market economy, from the party fashioned by monopolistic uniqueness and merged with state power to a modern political organization that can cope with pluralist competition, from a party-state to a state ruled by law.

Once we had formulated a concept of economic reform, we embarked on a significant move aimed at defining the changes, but economic reform will remain a delusion unless we devise a comprehensive reform program soon. This, in fact, means reforming all the key institutions of socialist self-managing democracy and transforming the LCY.

The contents of the congress should not, and cannot be reduced merely to a program for overcoming the crisis, but also should focus on the development and prospects of our socialist self-managing community in order to keep us from being submerged under pragmatic aims and losing the awareness of our own future. Reforms cannot be planned and carried out in isolation and without a correct vision, without a comprehensive and open idea of the new content and values of socialism. Therefore, we may well render this congress as one of renewing our project of socialism.

The democratic dimension of congress preparations should be insured by making possible for the LC to monitor the opinions of working people and citizens and of the broadest public on the congress documents. In this way the LCY should submit its platform for the broadest possible democratic verification and establish critical and creative dialogue with all progressive social forces.

In our preparations for the congress we must make a far greater effort in the direction of consolidating mutual cooperation and the responsibility of all republican and provincial LC organizations and their leaderships for the unity of the LCY. To this end it is also necessary to achieve an initiative for talks between individual LC leaderships, who will be in the function of preparing the congress and conducting research on the Yugoslav synthesis. This mutual responsibility for finding shared answers to questions of social development and for overcoming conflicts and disputes in a democratic manner—the realization of which would lead to democratic behavior in carrying out our actions—should become a real ideopolitical basis for united LCY action in the time following the congress and for the realization of the common interests of the working class, nations, and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The stands of the Central Committee's of the republican LC's and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, as well as of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], and the LCY Central Committee Presidium are unanimous with regard to the legitimate nature of the initiative of the Vojvodina LC's extraordinary conference for the convening of an extraordinary congress. We all agree on both the theme and the deadline for holding the congress. Neither are there any dilemmas or disputes as to the tasks of the congress. The most controversial issue remains that of the name of the coming LCY congress, whether it should be called a regular or an extraordinary congress.

Recalling that some parts of the LCY took different stands on the character of the forthcoming LCY congress, which are known to all LCY Central Committee members, Korosec raised the question as to how it was possible for those republican LC organizations that favor an extraordinary congress at the federal level to convene their own congresses as regular ones.

Making a decision about this initiative has statutory and political dimensions. They are expressed in the question whether, at the moment when the LC stances on necessity of radical social reforms have progressed greatly and when we have rejected numerous ideological taboos in the atmosphere of an increased level of overall social search for a way out of the crisis, it serves any political purpose to create the impression that an extraordinary congress is a way out of the current situation and a key lever of changes in the LC and society, as if a regular congress could not achieve this. We agreed that the forthcoming congress should carry out all functions of a regular congress prescribed by the statute, so that we will

not have to convene another congress in the period determined by the statute. I would also note that the explanation of the initiative contains disputable assessments, to put it mildly.

Personally, Korosec said, I believe that a final decision on what to call the congress should be left to the congress delegates, in accordance with Article 152 of the LCY Statute, but that we should call it the 14th LCY Congress since the preparations for it will be carried out as if it were a regular congress. This is an essential step in creating a working atmosphere and in searching for what we have in common while putting an end to an even more discernable deepening of differences within the LCY.

Explaining the proposal concerning the criteria and procedures for registering, nominating, and establishing proposed lists of candidates for delegates to forums and for members of bodies at all levels of the LC organization, Korosec stressed that in the election procedure, the advantage should be given to Communists whose distinguishing characteristics are an ability to synthesize progressive social aspirations, experience in developing socialist self-management and in the struggle to realize the interests of Yugoslav society as a whole, and integrative ideopolitical activity from the point of view of these interests.

All the intellectual forces of the LCY should engage themselves in this project, which will provide them with the opportunity to rediscover their place, unity, and role in socialist democracy. This project must deliver unambigous answers, particularly to the questions: What kind of freedom do we want for all the people? What sort of socialist democracy do we want? What role, self-managing and civil freedoms, rights, and sovereignty should be assumed by man as a subject of state and social institutions? What sort of state and what sort of autonomy in self-managing society do we want? What kind of political pluralism and Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] do we want? Of essential importance is the answer to the question: What sort of common life do we want in Yugoslavia?

This should, by all means, be a community of voluntarily associated equal nations and nationalities in which no one feels that his national rights are endangered. This is something that cannot be at the mercy of political will, but must be a matter of constitutional order and firm guarantees based on togetherness and unity and accomplished through voluntary agreement and through fundamentals and principles based on the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], and not through outvoting. All nations and nationalities are equally responsible for creating such an atmosphere, regardless of their numbers, although the socialist subjective forces, and especially the LCY, are the most responsible.

By supplying answers to these questions, Korosec stressed, we will carry out a deep reform of the political organizations of society as a whole and will consolidate the equality of all nations and nationalities. The essence of this reform should be conveyed by the LCY's ideopolitical platform for creating the new constitution on which the LCY Central Committee has already decided.

The central question of the LCY's transformation is not one of changing its organizational forms and institutional forms of activity, but rather a modern interpretation of its best traditions and an innovation of its ideological and strategic basis within the framework of renewing our project of socialism.

The LCY should prepare itself for a new social situation in which the effects of the market will create room for a more pronounced role by the modern working class and also by other social groups according to their participation, significance, and contribution to the process of society's economic restoration. In the competition among ideas, programs, and individuals in the reformed SAWP, the League of Communists [LC] will win only by creating an alliance of reformist forces. The precondition for such a role is the further development of democratic relations within the LC. This also implies that it must be more flexibly organized, and in particular it must give its membership a more important role.

The preparations for the LCY Congress and for the congresses and conferences of the republican and provincial LC's should be unified in their aspirations toward the democratic Yugoslav synthesis. The Yugoslav synthesis is not a replacement, as some would have it, for the political unity of socialist forces, nor is it an already given and finished project, but something that is being created constantly, thereby implying that it, too, is changing, something that can be regarded as both the content and method of work, something that has political, self-managing, economic, cultural, and broad spiritual dimensions. The Yugoslav synthesis is not just a matter of readiness and willingness, although this aspect is also important for the political action of the LC and other subjective forces. It should be brought into existence through concrete work and creativity; through a free flow of ideas, people, and goods; without borders or boycotts and within the confines of national economies.

In the preparations for the congress we should abandon our practice that a congress is to discuss a multitude of social issues and adopt a series of resolutions encompassing all social issues. We must concentrate on several key issues, such as the further development of socialist self-management in the market economy, the ideopolitical guidelines for the LCY's activities in preparing the new constitutions, and the LCY's transformation, of which a detailed and precise outline would facilitate the entire set of the social reform.

The all-party and public debate on the congress documents should on no account be routine. Instead, through the expression of the LC initiative, it should represent a new step toward the transformation of the LCY from a bureaucratic to a democratic organization of Communists. The documents should not be produced by the leadership exclusively, but first and foremost by the membership. In these debates and in general, we must strictly adhere to the statutory principle that political responsibility cannot be borne for voicing criticism and opinions at sessions of the LC organs and organizations. This is where new relations should be established between the membership and the leadership to which hierarchy and the stifling of initiatives are alien. We must insure the development of ideas and the communist movement from below, which would be a historic turning point for us and for socialism. If, at this crucial moment of preparations for the congress decisions, we do not start resolving the role and position of the LC membership in a new and democratic way, we risk falling behind the reform of our organization and are, in fact, preparing the failure of the congress.

During the election procedure, the principles of the secret ballot and of more candidates than places must be consistently observed. In the course of proposing and registering candidates, it should be insured that members are acquainted with candidates for bodies, and particularly for the LCY Central Committee Presidium, especially with regard to their integral ability to create Yugoslav synthesis. To this aim, candidates should have access to the public information media—press, radio, and television—so that they can publicly present their views on this and on how they would implement LCY policy.

The election of delegates to the congress should be carried out in proportion to LCY members, in accordance with the rule of 1 delegate per 2,000 LCY members, and in accordance with the principle of equality and equal representation of republican LC organizations and appropriate representation of provincial LC and LCY organizations in the JNA, which means that republican LC congresses woudld eiect 60 delegates each; conferences of provincial LC's; 40 each; and the conference of the LCY in the JNA, 30 delegates. If we add all members of the present LCY bodies who have all the rights of a delegate except the right to vote on reports and dismissals of bodies of which they are members, then about 1,700 people having delegate status would be at the LCY Congress.

The formation of three Central Committee working bodies to prepare for the congress is proposed. They are: a committee for preparation of the congress, which would have 64 members; a commission for preparation of proposed reports about LCY activities and the work of the LCY Central Committee between the two congresses, which would have 29 members; and a commission for the preparation of proposed ideopolitical guidelines for changes and amendments to the LCY Statute, having 27 members.

The 19th LCY Central Committee session formed a working group for drawing up a proposed ideopolitical platform for LC activity in preparing a new SFRY Constitution, the work of which is directly compatible with preparations for the congress.

The LCY Presidium proposes that the congress be held this December. Forthcoming tasks to prepare it are neither easy nor small. Many questions require answers and the time is short. Except for the fifth congress, no other post-war LCY Congress has been prepared in such a short period of time, not to mention the very serious situation and the crisis in the country, the disturbed intranational relations, and the disunity within the LC. All this demands our full concentration, a high level of engagement and responsibility, and efficient and productive work.

This congress must have working and not ceremonial importance. This implies a number of novelties that will be presented at the congress, such as a marketing approach, which would present the congress as one of a modern political organization, rationally organized with respect to time, means, and documents, to which the manner of its work must be adjusted.

The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and the Central and provincial committees and their presidiums, bear full responsibility for the success of the congress. All of us must put forward efforts to create a productive and working social climate in which civilized and reasoned discussion on documents that open up the process of searching, would confirm the creativity of LC members and organizations in finding paths of recovery for our project of socialism. In the course of that search, we cannot afford to go back to issues we settled or for which we determined ways of settling, Stefan Korosec said.

## Committee Proceedings Reported

*LD1404221789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0903 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—A session of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee which is to adopt the draft guidelines for the transformation of the LCY and which will discuss and decide on preparations for, character, and date of the next LCY Congress, started this morning at the Sava Center in Belgrade. [passage omitted]

Afterwards Stefan Korosec intervened as chairman, and drew attention to the fact that LCY Central Committee members should consider very important issues today. He proposed that attention be concentrated above all on the transformation of the party and the decision on the convening and character of the next congress. If necessary, he said, we will put the expressed criticisms on a separate item of the agenda.

Members of the Central Committee supported with a public vote the proposal of the working presidium, of which Suvar is a member, and they rejected Milojevic's proposal.

Prior to adoption of the agenda of today's 22d session, Stefan Korosec explained that events in Kosovo slowed down preparations for the 22d session. As a result of the events in the province, the LCY Central Committee Presidium proposed that the next session of the LC, which would consider the situation in Kosovo, is to be held by the end of this April. The Presidium also proposes that the next session undertakes cadre renewal of Central Committee members whose membership has ended on the basis of the separation of (state and party) functions. That session will also adopt a financial plan of the LCY Central Committee for this year. This job is postponed for the next session so that a precise plan of rationalization of business activity is prepared, Korosec stressed.

In response to an initiative from the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee drew up instructions for emergency procedures for establishing responsibility and issuing ideopolitical measures, and how to conduct complaint procedures under the extraordinary measures. Korosec proposed that today's session discuss this under a separate item of the agenda. Afterwards members of the LCY Central Committee adopted the agenda for the 22d session of the Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Under the market conditions, according to Blagoja Mitanovski, we must end the practice that the structure determines goals, and that the state intervenes and imposes limits. He added that it is extremely important that centers of development are not republics, provinces, and municipalities, but enterprises.

The fear of the future must be our source of strength for accepting new ideas and developments, and young people should head that process, Mitanovski stressed. Stressing that we do some things at the wrong time—crisis, blockades, threats to export revolutions, and imposing daily political interests as strategic interests—Boris Muzevic stressed that not only can we seek the way out of the crisis, but it is necessary in order to determine a new approach to socialism. [passage omitted]

Noting that the process of the LCY transformation has not started anywhere, Muzevic stressed that there is not much readiness in the LC to become a bearer of changes. Our dogmatism and unpreparedness to get over the fear of consequences are involved. The issue here is that we should be alert and bold in our thinking, and go as far as to presuppose the possibility of a situation in which the LCY steps down and the world does not end, Muzevic said. [passage omitted]

According to Dragan Kalinic, we must answer three key questions in the period ending with the next congress. Firstly, what kind of socialism the LCY wants, and, relatedly, why basically an original model of socialism such as ours became so inefficient. Secondly, what kind of state and what kind of state organization we want, and, thirdly, what would be the role of the LCY in all these.

Explaining these questions, Dragan Kalinic noted that since the LCY behaved as classical party in power, and that it has the monopoly of the whole social and economic life, the LCY is objectively most responsible for the present situation. He especially advocated the ending of interventions in the economic life, from which the power of national bureaucracies stems. [passage omitted]

Kalinic is of the opinion that the proposed document on LCY reform does not have a clear stance on political pluralism. Namely, the LCY wants to retain its dominant role, he said. It offers independence to others while limiting their independence, Kalinic said.

Such an LCY position is contrary to the self-managing system, Kalinic assessed. He is in favor of the Socialist Alliance in which everyone would be equal, even the LCY. The document envisages that the LCY should be directly present in the delegates system. Kalinic criticized this, because this means that the LCY would retain monopoly. He believes that all sociopolitical organizations should be independently present in the system. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG part eight not received]

Franc Setinc devoted his speech to the urgent revitalization of the SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People], recalling that at the first LCY conference it was concluded that the LC must relinquish its monopoly of power and descent into the SAWP, among the people. Without a well-developed SAWP there can be no progress. Pluralism is the future of this broadest front, and to be monolithic is its death, Setinc said.

It is time for a radical change of the practice in which political life moves only or above all along the lines of state and the party. The worst thing is delaying opening up problems and accepting various initiatives, because others beat us to it and we, in Setinc's opinion, become angry, saying that there are enemies and traitors of the country.

The SAWP in a certain sense is still "an upside-down pyramid" which means that there is a lot of over-organization in forums above, and more and more emptiness below. Setinc is convinced that the SAWP must gain a new program and statute, because if it were to have as its own program that of the LCY, then the SAWP would not be necessary.

It seems unconvincing and even immoral when the loudest opponents of political pluralism say that everything must be under the auspices of the SAWP, yet they do nothing for the modernization of the front for political life as a whole or for the development of forms of people's political activity.

It has been confirmed that the SAWP as it is now is sluggish, ossified, too narrow, and too enclosed for the circulation of ideas, initiatives, and opinions and for dialogue on the widest basis. We must be capable of listening to people who do not think the same as we do. We are often afraid of new ideas, not just because they are new, but also because they arrive on paths along which we are not accustomed to travelling, Setinc warned, stressing that for both the LCY and the SAWP it is imperative to be freed from all ideological myths and taboos. [passage omitted]

The LC program, according to Cedo Volas, does not really deserve so much criticism, although its modernization is vital. Volas also asked why the LCY should not take back its old name—the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]—which is more suitable for it. The league can also indicate that there is a consensus, he explained, which even now is imposing itself on us.

Finally he called for an end to quarrels and conflicts in party ranks, since in the country now what is really necessary is "peaceful active coexistence which we have established for years as a principle in relations with other countries".

Speaking about his role as a member of the commission which drew up the draft document on the transformation of the LCY, Radoje Kostadinovic said first of all that he tried to attend all the sessions of this commission, which cannot be said for many of its members. At the start of the commission's work I had a great desire to really change things a lot. However, when I had heard all the members of the commission and their quarrels, then I was no longer sure of myself and all I felt like was compromise, which in fact is what the document that has been submitted represents.

My only consolation, Kostadinovic stressed, is that "all the brains" are not concentrated in the commission for the transformation of the LCY, and I hope that the first contribution to this will be made by the party membership in the forthcoming discussion. I advocated greater rights for the party membership, more responsibility for the leaderships, direct elections in the LC from the level of secretary of the basic LC organization to president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and I called for the independent position of the member to be ensured, because only in this way is it possible to break up the forming of groups.

In response to these proposals, Kostadinovic said, the president of the Commission answered me by saying: "Please formulate these suggestions". I was taken aback by this and I did not reply. In the document, however, direct elections are not to be found.

Kostadinovic also called on the leaders to stop their quarrels. In the existing situation "it does not take much for nations to take a dislike to each other, but I do not know whether the same leaders will then want to help people to draw closer to each other again". [passage omitted]

The speech by Emil Rojc was entirely devoted to the need to change attitudes within the LC toward ideological and theoretical training and Marxist education. He considers that the document on transformation of the LC should also indicate the essential preconditions for a new attitude which is necessary for destroying the illusion that the vanguard position of an organization is something which is given to it once and for all. [passage omitted]

Transformation of the LCY can be carried out only in the framework of overall reform of the economic and political system and of social activities, Dimitrij Baucal said.

Basically supporting the submitted material, Baucal nevertheless criticized the fact that a compromise answer was given to one of the central questions of what sort of socialism is wanted. This dilemman must be overcome, he said, on the basis of respect for scientific and not ideological arguments, still less on the basis of unprincipled compromise.

The orientation for the consistent separation of party and state cannot be criticized, but an answer must also be given as to what the real extent of this division is, a division which now is reduced exclusively to a personal division of functions. What does it mean when a person in a state function, however exemplary he is, even if he is a communist of authority and knowledge, cannot, just because of this, be in a single LCY organ? To whom is this or can this be useful? Baucal asked.

Speaking about the transformation of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army, Baucal stressed that this process must be based on the consistent implementation of the constitutional role of the Yugoslav People's Army, on the consistent affirmation of the strategic and doctrinal principle of the unity of the Yugoslav arena, the unity of the Armed Forces, of leadership and command. The principal importance of this was confirmed in all the fateful stages of our revolution. It is also showing itself to be true today in connection with Kosovo and in Kosovo, Baucal stressed. [passage omitted]

Sonja Lokar considers that the material and the introductory speech represent a solid basis for the renewal of the LC, and for a wide discussion by the membership.

She called for certain key questions to be put more clearly, especially because the crisis of the LC is so apparent that it is senseless to ask whether its transformation is necessary. The reform of the LC, as the strongest center of political power, is at the same time the first but also the last of the three reforms. Upon it depends the tempo and depth of the organized implementation of the reform of the economic and political system, Sanja Lokar said. [passage omitted]

In the documents prepared for the plenum it is not clear what we should do to abandon, in theory but also in practice, the etatist consensus economy. It has not been said sufficiently clearly that we are leaving, in theory and in practice, the concept of the vanguard, particularly with the practice of political and cadre monopolies. The social circumstances in which the LC is working today are such that they demand a change in its social role, Sanja Lokar said. She said that other methods of constructing stances, and of preserving relations between the majority and the minority should be sought. We must abandon the practice in which the LC is a judge who prosecutes and presides, where communists do not oppose the serving of half-truths and lies to the people, do not oppose the fact that people are not given the relevant information, or that opponents are produced practically according to daily needs. In whose interest is it that nations are put in a position where they are offered, as a means of homogenization, a partial interest which proclaims itself as the only true interest and threatens all others with exclusion, majority rule, even force. All this brings to our political scene and our everyday lives hatred and tears, even blood, Sanja Lokar said. [passage omitted]

The first speaker in the afternoon proceedings of the LCY Central Committee session was Aleksandar Kovacevic who criticized the proposed document on the reform of the LCY for being generalized and not offering any answers. In the first part, he said, this document deals with general guidelines for the social reform and in the second, the LCY deals with itself and asks questions without giving any answers. [passage omitted]

Drawing attention to the vital need for changes, Dali Dzonlagic stressed that the reform should ensure the development of a self-managing socialism which would not jeopardize but rather encourage the development of society. [passage omitted]

Workers have been leaving the ranks of the LC in an increasingly massive fashion, noted Nedeljko Trajkovski, asking: Can the LC act as the vanguard of the working class and is it not turning into the vanguard of the elite, in other words in an organization which wishes to preserve the status quo? Blockades in party work frequently occur as a result of manipulations with the national which prevails over the class one. [as received] For this reason reforms should ensure the class-revolutionary identity of the LC because a pluralist society needs a cohesive force which will defend the interests of the working class without going along with unitarism on the one side and particularism on the other, Trajkovski thinks.

The LC and its every member should continually reaffirm its vanguard role which means that all capable, professional, and moral members should remain in its ranks. They should be ready to respond to the challenges of the times and respect different argued opinions of people loyal to the working class and the goals of socialism.

Though often criticized, the LC has not yet lost its reputation amongst the working class, Trajkovski believes, noting that this is precisely what should encourage the party toward changes. The LC should renew itself and become capable of carrying the vanguard of the workers' movement with all the attributes of a modern political organization. [passage omitted]

Assessing Suvar's introductory speech as symposium-like, Rados Smiljkovic said that Suvar was expected to deliver a speech which would explain in greater depth the suppositions contained in the document on the reform of the LCY.

He argued about a series of theses from Suvar's report and stressed that the key issue is the attitude of the LC to the working class and its vital interests. What Suvar said leads to the conclusion that the party should act in a way which is unacceptable.

If Suvar believes that citizens should join various associations and organizations, how come there is so much opposition to meetings? Smiljkovic asked. Why criticism, he added, just because party organizations in some environments "earn greater love from the masses" than in others?

Suvar did not say much about the attitude of the LC to the working class, but instead voiced a great deal of criticism because of "easy promises and promised speed". Is it possible that a member of the LCY Central Committee can say such a thing after 10 years of crisis and 8 years of terror in Kosovo? It really makes no sense, Smiljkovic stressed, to mention "easily made promises"; the question should be: Why didn't we do all that needed to be done?

Noting that the right of minority is never threatened in the LC, Smiljkovic asked why there is all this concern for the stands of the minority, instead of ensuring that the rights of the majority be respected.

Finally, Smiljkovic, who is not a member of the LC but was invited to the session, expressed fear that the essence of suppositions in the proposed document on the transformation of the LCY can be interpreted as a support for the elitist concept of the party. [passage omitted]

Dwelling on discussions about democratic centralism and minority rights, Pancevski warned of very negative consequences. Democratic centralism, according to Pancevski, is not the usurpation of the right of the minority but a way and mechanism for the efficient implementation of the rights and needs of the majority. These matters should be very seriously examined.

The most important task of the LC is to establish the guidelines for its further revolutionary development, Radivoje Jokic said. He thinks that the LC must immediately achieve greater unity and mobilize the citizens for implementation of the program for a way out of the crisis. [passage omitted]

Unity is the fundamental value without which there can be no reform of the LC, said Darinka Tesic, who devoted the greatest attention to this and to the question of the realization of the principle of democratic centralism. [passage omitted]

It is good that the LCY has decided in this reform to consolidate the role of the individual in the creation of political and economic pluralism. But it is also important that the other side of the coin be seen—the general circumstances under which the individual acts, Vladimir Stambuk said.

Explaining this thesis, Stambuk noted that there is no system where the freedom of the individual is not linked to a powerful state. We have decided not to have a powerful state and multiparty system. In such circumstances the LCY should assume the integrational function between the individual and the system in which it acts.

Speaking about economic pluralism, Stambuk stressed that if we want to have a united market we must introduce either a powerful state or a multiparty system. The other way is the independence of the individual and enterprises. We do not need a powerful state but we do need an efficient federal state. As far as the republican states are concerned, they should stimulate the federal state's functions which in its turn should provide for unified conditions across the entire market.

Expressing support for Suvar's notion of the significance of individual conduct, cited in his introductory speech, Stambuk reproached him for attacking Serbian people and the Serbian leadership 2 days ago at a session of the LCY Central Committee.

The answer to the question of what model of socialism we want should be derived from the question: What kind of socialism do we want? Bozidar Debenjak said.

Explaining in detail a number of notions about, as he put it, the principal problems of our society and the opening of new prospects of socialism, Debenjak paid particular attention to the plurality of our society. He came out with a theory that a certain degree of federalism was imposed 50 years ago on the Communist Party of Yugoslavia by the situation where a decision was made to set up the Communist Party of Slovenia and the Communist Party of Croatia. Other decisions were made in the wake of this. There was no other way for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to solve the situation, Debenjak said.

He proposed that Stipe Suvar's speech be adopted, along with the basic documents, as the platform for public debate.

My starting point, too, is the notion, which Debenjak presented, that federalist provisions should be respected in a multinational community but we should not build by force the continuity of some version of federalism in the LC which, allegedly, was existent in the period when the party was being created. the federal system of the party is unacceptable for the LC, Stanislav Stojanovic said. There was no dilemma on this on earlier occasions, either, since then one also insisted on the internal organization of LC in terms of a real synthesis of class and national principles. Such a synthesis is needed today, too, when the demand for the ideological and political unity of the LCY is being raised. The prospects of the democratization of relations in the party are in its federalization, Stojanovic stressed.

I did not attempt to make a new interpretation of history, Debenjak replied, but it is an undisputable fact that the plurality of this society has made the party decide to express pluralism in its organizational forms. Debenjak reproached Vladimir Stambuk for "steering away" from the topic which has been and is still being, openly aired; namely, that the solution of the national question had been the result of a joint conspiracy, set by the Comintern and the Frankoist parties against Yugoslavia as a whole. This is also a topic which should be publicly discussed, Debenjak said.

Stojanovic reproached Debenjak for dwelling on a completely different topic, the Comintern, something, he said, which has nothing to do with this discussion. Vladimir Stambuk took part in this discussion for a few moments saying that he supported some of Suvar's stands, so if Debenjak disagrees with Suvar he should approach Suvar in the first place.

Disagreeing with the stands in the introductory report, Tomislav Radovic said his particular concern was the fact that the report was adopted by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. He is also concerned about the LCY Central Committee Presidium not being able to perceive reality in society. Personal burdens, he stressed, cannot be either reality or coalition of burdened people. He indicated that reality is much clearer and very different to what was stated in the introductory report and documents for today's session.

The documents for the reform of the LCY, Radovic said, should state what has been good so far and what has been bad. He thinks that the LCY as a whole has so far justified its role regardless of shortcomings on the way, and this is why he cannot understand "so much bitterness poured out" in the introductory report. The key issue for Radovic is to agree before the congress whether the LCY was brought into the crisis because its program orientations were poor or whether the most responsible people in the party are to blame. He also drew attention to "indecent" behavior, adding that he was ashamed that in the past 3 years he has sat in this Central Committee with some who have already left. [passage omitted]

The last participant in the discussion on the transformation of the LCY, Petar Gracanin, suggested that the document on the reform of the party should also include everything positive and everything which has been reaffirmed in the practice of our party and which could be of use in modern conditions. This should also include the tradition and great gains of the national liberation struggle and the armed revolution which had 1.7 million victims.

It is necessary to nurture brotherhood and unity as a barrier against every nationalism, and also socialism, people's power, and work with the masses, especially youth and working class. Gracanin also called for the development of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and unity which in 1948 defended our freedom and independence.

After 32 members of the Central Committee had taken part in the 11-hour long discussion, the highest party forum adopted unanimously, with a number of comments and suggestions, a draft document on the basic guidelines for the transformation of the LCY.

As envisaged by the working conclusions, this document, following the final review of its text, will be submitted to public debate among the party membership which is to last until 15 September. The LCY Central Committee Presidium is, therefore, obligated to make a plan of an all-party debate on the transformation of the LCY. The text of the document will be also passed onto the republican and provincial LC committees and the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army which should also carry out their share of the tasks in connection with the public debate.

Bringing the discussion on this topic at the 22th plenum to a close, the presiding member, Ivan Brigic, stressed that the adopted draft document represents a good and stimulating basis of the public debate on the transformation of the LCY. This document contains all the most important issues of the transformation of the LCY in respect of its being part of the total social reform. [passage omitted]

Shortly after 2130 the LCY Central Committee adjourned until 0900 on Wednesday 19 April. The decision was reached after Stipe Suvar said that 23 members have already applied for the discussion on the character of the LCY congress and that such a topic is likely to attract further applications.

Since the Central Committee worked for more than 12 hours, a proposal was adopted that the discussion should be resumed on the same day for which a formal session of the Central Committee, dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the establishing of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, is envisaged.

Following Korosec's speech, Suvar summed up all the stands hitherto made by the Central and Provincial committees on the preparations for, character, and contents of the LCY congress. This summary reveals that different attitudes remain only toward the character, i.e. the name of the congress.

Suvar said that prior to the follow-up to the 22d session a regular session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium will be held, and announced that efforts will be made to have these differences overcome so it is possible that the members of the Central Committee will see a unified proposal.

The Central Committee adopted this explanation and the first part of the 22d session of the LCY Central Committee was closed.

### Presidium Elects New Members

*LD1404164289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—The new members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium are Ugljesa Uzelac, Petar Skundric, and Jusuf Zejnulahu. They were elected at today's LCY Central Committee session; they obtained a majority vote by secret ballot.

Marko Lolic, chairman of the Electoral Commission, announced the results of the ballot and said that all the three newly elected members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium obtained sufficient number of votes, i.e. more than half of the delegates present voted for them. Of 154 LCY Central Committee members attending today's LCY Central Committee Plenum, 146 cast the votes. [passage omitted]

### Transformation Guidelines Adopted

*LD1404184589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—After an 11-hour discussion in which 32 LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee members took part, the highest forum unanimously adopted the document on the basic guidelines for the transformation of the LCY at about 1800 GMT this evening, after hearing several objections and suggestions.

According to the working conclusions, after the final revision this document will be submitted for public debate among the party membership which should last until 15 September. The LCY Central Committee Presidium is obliged for this reason to produce as soon as possible a plan for conducting and monitoring the all-party debate. The integral text of the document on the party transformation will be submitted to republican and provincial Central Committees and the committee of the basic LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, which for their part should also carry out their tasks in connection with the public debate on the transformation of the LC.

### Session To Resume 19 April

*LD1404200789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1939 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—Due to the large number of applications for the discussion of the character of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, the Central Committee decided to break off the session this evening and resume it on Wednesday, 19 April. On that day a formal LCY Central Committee session will also be held in Belgrade, which will be devoted to the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

### New Members of State Presidency Profiled

*LD1404185889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, April 14 (TANJUG)—The new Yugoslav State Presidency, which comes into power on May 15, Friday officially got three more members—Janez Drnovsek (39) from Slovenia, Nenad Bucin (55) from Montenegro and Dragutin Zelenovic (61) from Vojvodina.

Zelenovic was today elected by the Vojvodina Provincial Assembly, while the Slovenian and Montenegrin assemblies only made official the election of Drnovsek and Bucin at the recent referendums in these republics. [passage omitted]

Montenegro's new Presidency member, Nenad Bucin, is a philosophy graduate. He entered the political scene in the early 1970's. He was a member of the Montenegrin Party Presidency, a member of the top leadership over a number of years and president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia's mass political organization which includes both party and non-party members.

The representative from Vojvodina, Dragutin Zelenovic, holds a PhD in mechanical engineering at the Novi Sad University. He held several posts in the field of economy for a number of years. Zelenovic has been a professor at Novi Said University of Mechanical Engineering since 1971.

### No SFRY Presidency Member From Macedonia

*LD1404152689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Skopje, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Assembly at its session today did not elect a member of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia. Candidates Jakov Lazaroski and Gligorie Gogovski failed to obtain the sufficient number of votes in the first round. They both asked that the procedure for the election of a candidate from Macedonia be repeated and that they be allowed to withdraw their (?candidacies).

The assemby accepted the two candidates' proposal. Lazaroski obtained 107 votes and Gogovski 78. There were 44 void ballot papers, and of a total of 250 delegates, 229 voted. The number of votes needed for election was 125.

### Kosovo Presidency Sees Improving Security

*LD1404225789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Pristina, April 14 (TANJUG)—The security situation in Kosovo is gradually improving, the Presidency of this Yugoslav Province, hit by a wave of strikes [words indistinct] demonstrations of Albanian separatists late in March, said on Friday.

In the Presidency's assessment, the improvement is a result of the special measures imposed in Kosovo at the end of February and of determined, energetic actions of security organs, as well as of the widening ideo-political activities by League of Communists and other socialist forces in the province.

The Presidency noted the necessary conditions had been created for a resumption of production in all enterprises and lessons in all schools and faculties in Kosovo.

The collective leadership of the province noted, however, that the activities of Albanian separatists, acting in collusion with the hostile Albanian emigration and with the support of Tirana, have not been stopped. They are trying to maintain the atmosphere of tension and uncertainty through various sorts of misinformation, slogans and slanderous writings, and by voicing threats not only against Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, but also against Yugoslav-oriented ethnic Albanians.

The Presidency is therefore of the opinion that the battle to stabilize conditions in Kosovo must be even more determined and effective. All forms of hostile activity must be prevented and full security of all Kosovo citizens must be safeguarded by all measures of state organs, energetically and without any compromise. The Presidency considers a resolute implementation of the differentiation between those who strike for a calming of the situation in Kosovo and those who oppose it to be of special importance to a stabilization of conditions in the province.

The provincial committee for information today stated that a section of the Albanian-language media last February "put themselves in the service of Albanian separatists" and demanded punishments for those responsible.

In the committee's assessment, the daily RILINDJA and Radio and TV Pristina (in their Albanian-language programmes) at the time were mouthpieces of the forces who had organized the strikes of miners and other workers against the constitutional changes in Serbia and upheld the unacceptable [words indistinct] of the Yugoslav-oriented party officials-members of the Albanian nationality.

In contrast, the committee said, the media in the Serbo-Croatian and Turkish languages had entirely correct attitudes to the February events in the province.

**Radio Reports Reprimand of Officials, Dismissals**
*AU1404185589*

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 14 April concludes its regular newscast with a 4-minute block of brief news from various communes, pertaining to the day's political activities.

The first item refers to a meeting of the Djakovica Commune Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Presidium, which is said to have relieved from their duties six of its members, but giving no reason. The second item reports that the Titovo Mitrovica Trade Union Council Presidium examined the general political and security situation in the commune following the March and February events: The situation is said to be "still severe and complicated." Skender Bilali, president of the Presidium, was relieved from his position. The political and security situation was also the subject of discussion by the Lipjan Commune Assembly chambers, but the report gives no further details; the meeting also discussed the "emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins." An electoral conference of the Djakovica Commune Youth Federation discussed its tasks and appointed new officials. In Prizren Commune, a meeting of the presidents and secretaries of the action conferences of the League of Communists is said to have discussed "the more important party duties." A report from the Commune of Podujeve states that the teaching process in secondary schools resumed normally today, "following recent ideopolitical measures." A further report states that the LC communal committee in the Commune of Kamenice discussed "the situation created following recent demonstrations in Kosovo," adding that the LC organization at the "9 May" secondary school adopted ideopolitical measures against some teachers, giving a "last warning" to two teachers and "reprimanding" others.

**Schools Resume Lessons Following 20-Day Break**
*LD1404225489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2125 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Pristina, April 14 (TANJUG)—After a nearly 20-day break caused by violent demonstrations of Albanian separatists in Kosovo, secondary schools in this Yugoslav province resumed lessons on Friday.

Official reports put the number of absent students in the majority of schools at what was practically a normal level and mentioned no incidents during the morning hours.

Lessons in all Kosovo schools and university faculties were interrupted on March 27, when Albanian separatists staged brutal demonstrations which turned into armed clashes with security organs.

On that day the Kosovo government imposed restrictions on movements in the province, stopped lessons in schools and university faculties and banned all cultural events and public gatherings.

Pupils in elementary schools and students at university faculties on Monday returned to their classes, but the re-opening of secondary schools was postponed because the majority of participants in the March demonstrations were secondary school students.

The strategists of greater Albanian separatism, whose ultimate objective is to tear Kosovo away from Yugoslavia and join it to a so-called greater Albania, have deliberately misled a section of the youngest ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo and turned them into stormers [as received] blindly assaulting the Yugoslav social system.

It is now up to the Kosovo educational [word indistinct] and educational institutions to answer how could they allow those who were ten or less at the time of the 1981 counter-revolution in Kosovo, to be the most numerous among the active participants of latest counter-revolutionary riots in the province.

**Public Prosecutor's Office Bans Youth Paper**
*LD1404123289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Rijeka, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—The Rijeka district public prosecutor's office imposed a temporary ban on distribution of the 'VAL' youth paper, published by the municipal conference of the Rijeka Socialist Youth Federation. The paper is banned for several articles on the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo.

According to the public prosecutor's office, the articles represent the criminal act of hostile propaganda, and they contained false and alarmist information which put public order and peace into jeopardy. The titles of the

texts are 'Revolutionary Proposals: Kosovo in Six Points', 'The Apocalypse Now' and 'Defense and the Last Days', written by Ante Rokov Jadrijevic and Srdjan Vrancic.

The decision was based on the SFRY law on prevention of misuse of the press and other forms of the public information media and the law on the public information of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

**Further Response to European Parliament Move**
*LD1404213189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Belgrade, April 14 (TANJUG)—If the deputies sitting in the European Parliament were always as diligent as they were yesterday when they adopted a resolution on the concern-provoking situation around the events in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, they would certainly have much cause to come forth with similar documents far more often—today one concerning the Basque drama, tomorrow one about the bloodshedding in Northern Ireland, the day after tomorrow one about disturbances in the Soviet Union's southern republics.

Had they made an attempt to be principled, they would have concluded that many years ago there had existed cause for their adoption of a truly justified resolution around the fact that the Serbian and Montenegrin populations of Kosovo were the subject to constant harassment and pressures from the majority ethnic Albanian population.

As it is, the deputies of the European Parliament in Strasbourg last night surprised the Yugoslav public with a resolution expressing concern over peace in Yugoslavia, as the "explosive situation" in Kosovo could even provoke a "civil war and serious unrest." [sentence as received]

The resolution, which does not lack certain notes of alarm says that a "showdown between the forces of law and order and the ethnic Albanian population" had taken place in Kosovo. And then concern is expressed that all that "would not remain without consequences for Europe." [sentence as received]

If the aim of the European Parliament had been to support and aid the peace process and the calming down of the situation in and around Kosovo, clearly its estimate was not good, notwithstanding any good intent.

The messages contained in the resolution can only encourage ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists, who are even without it arrogant enough and responsible for much evil in Yugoslavia.

The force and range of the European Parliament's documents have their relations and limitations. Nevertheless, they are, primarily, declarative resolutions aimed far more at propaganda than with any real effects.

In spite of this, the Yugoslav public is not indifferent to such a move by the European Parliamentarians.

The situation in Kosovo and attempts to dramatize it outside the country's borders also provoke concern among the Yugoslav public, far more than in the European Parliament. It is worried far less, however, by the fact that someone, even if is the European Parliament, warns it that it should pay more attention to respecting human rights and equality before the law when the issue concerns national minorities.

Yugoslavia has thousands of arguments from real life proving that the national minorities on its territory are respected as in very few places across the world, that the ethnic Albanian population of Kosovo has its autonomy, its language and its university, which, in the [word indistinct] of national minorities, is very rare [words indistinct]. This was, after all, pointed out yesterday by one of the European Parliament's deputies in Strasbourg.

"Yugoslavia has up until now had an exemplary attitude towards its national minorities," West German Social-Democratic Deputy Klaus Heness said yesterday.

On this plane Yugoslavia fears no "resolutions" and is very satisfied over the fact that the European Parliament has accepted the Yugoslav assembly's invitation to send a delegation here and acquaint itself with the situation in Kosovo on the spot.

Perhaps the deputies of that prestigious European institution would then realize that the revolt of the ethnic Albanian separatists in Kosovo was aimed not at protecting a hard-won and real autonomy but at transforming Kosovo into a republic and ethnically purifying it in the meantime.

Perhaps it will also become clear to them that in Kosovo today the forces of law and order are not "countering the ethnic Albanian population," but trying to curb the vandalism of the Albanian separatists and protect the country's territorial integrity as well as the province's entire population, including the ethnic Albanians themselves, exactly in the same manner in which it is, in case of need, very efficiently and resolutely done in (?quite a) few of the countries which make up the European Community (EC), an institution of which is the European Parliament.

**Drnovsek Interviewed on Future Economic Policies**
*LD1404163389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1505 GMT 14 Apr 89*

[Text] Belgrade, April 14 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav Presidency from the Republic of Slovenia Janez Drnovsek, who will in May become the youngest president of the Yugoslav collective State Presidency, said in an interview published today by the Belgrade weekly NIN that the key part of his programme relates to

the solution of the economic problems of Yugoslavia and to the calming down of the current political tension and lack of confidence in the country.

Drnovsek's programme, as he put it, foresees the putting of Yugoslavia's debtor relations on more favourable foundations and the complete normalisation of the Yugoslav debtor situation in the next five years.

Janez Drnovsek in the interview agreed with Prime Minister Ante Markovic with respect to the mode of the settlement of the economic questions of the country, stressing that Yugoslavia now must have a market orientation and economic growth, but also a turning to the world and European integration. In the present phase, considers Drnovsek, Yugoslvia should join up with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), "after which we shall see how things will develop".

On the relationship between the Yugoslav state and party Drnovsek said that the temporary crisis in the functioning of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia must not affect the work of the state organs, and that the State Presidency itself must function without direct links with the party organs.

In connection with the special measures in the southern Autonomous Province of Kosovo, imposed because of separatism in the ranks of ethnic Albanians, the future Yugoslav president considers that the situation should be normalised as soon as possible in order that the special measures should cease to apply as soon as possible and that the economy should be activated as soon as possible.

On political developments in the Republic of Slovenia, Drnovsek said that they are directed towards greater democratisation and are linked up with the climate in the world.

On the newly established pluralism of alliances, associations, etc. in Yugoslavia Drnovsek said that it is an expression of the necessity of competition in politics. He did not declare himself in favour of only one bureaucratic party nor in favour of the multiparty model from the West, but considers that the solution for the specific Yugoslav conditions is pluralism and constructive pressure on the party in power.

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